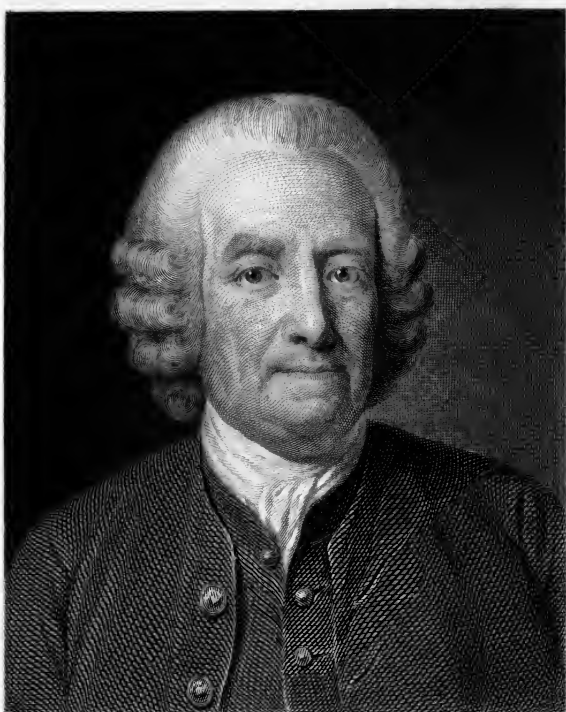


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EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

Born Jan'y 29. 1688 Died Mar. 29. 1772.

Brown

THE
LIFE AND MISSION
OF
EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

BY
BENJAMIN WORCESTER.

"Nunc licet intellectualiter intrare in arcana fidei."



BOSTON:
ROBERTS BROTHERS.
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PREFACE.

THE good name of EMANUEL SWEDENBORG is no longer in question. In place of being denounced as a heretic, he begins to be recognized by Christian students in all denominations as a pioneer of the advanced theology fast finding its way into the thought of the Churches.

We need not now documents to prove the ability, the soundness of mind, the laborious acquisitions, the deep philosophic insight, the sincerity and the honor of the man. Rather, we want to be shown from the limitations of his human nature, from the trials and the training given his heart and mind, from the grace and the new spirit vouchsafed him, on the one hand; and on the other hand, from the need, the nature, and the result of his mission, — that this was the work, not of his own will and unaided intellect, but of the will of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the guidance of His Holy Spirit.

In this study, while the spirit of adulation finds no place, our love, esteem, and sympathy cannot but

greatly increase, as with our fellow-servant we learn to give all the praise to Him whom he loved to serve. And our task is reduced to setting in such order the things most surely believed among us, as will cause us to listen to Swedenborg's own words and to believe with him that they were not from himself, but from the Spirit of Truth.

Of all previous biographies of Swedenborg mention will be made in the Appendix. Let us here but express our obligations to the first known to us, by Mr. Nathaniel Hobart, which will always be held in grateful remembrance; and to the most complete by far, the collection of Documents, in three large octavo volumes, by the indefatigable Rev. R. L. Tafel; from which, as in most authentic form, the greater part of our material has been drawn. To these Documents and to Swedenborg's published works the student is referred for further research.

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THE LIFE AND MISSION
OF
EMANUEL SWEDENBORG



THE LIFE AND MISSION OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—SWEDENBORG'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

NEVER had the outlook for Christianity been darker than during the period embraced by Swedenborg's life, from 1688 to 1772. In the time of Martin Luther the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church were possibly more flagrant,—although, says Mosheim, in the seventeenth century “the corruptions, both in the higher and in the inferior orders of the Romish clergy, were rather increased than diminished, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess.”¹ But in the determined and unscrupulous effort through the Jesuits to enslave the world, as witnessed in the cruel expulsion of Protestants from France in 1685, and in the persistent attempt to substitute its own authority with the people for that of the Word of God, as witnessed in the Bull *Unigenitus*,² 1713, the Church at Rome was clearly pressing on to its doom, as was seen by its best friends and lamented with piteous wail.³

In the Protestant Church, on the other hand, the very instinct of rational thought which had given it birth was now casting off all restraint, denying its creed, and on the point of rejecting even “the Headstone of the corner.” The result

¹ MACLAINE: *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. § ii. part i. ch. 36.

² Appendix I.

³ Appendix II.

night have been different had charity been given its due place in the scheme of the Reformers. But now kindness of heart as well as sound reason revolted against the bondage of faith alone, found not less galling than that of Rome herself. "Take away," cried Chillingworth, "this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing to the words of men as the words of God ; require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man Master but Him only ; let those leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it, and let them that in their words disclaim it, disclaim it likewise in their actions ; in a word, take away tyranny, which is the devil's instrument to support errors, . . . and restore Christians to the first and full liberty of captivating their understandings to Scripture only."¹ "The opinions expressed on the part of the so-called orthodox party" (in Germany), says Dr. Dörner, "show that the Church had again become to them the self-centred possessor of direct Divine authority, endowed, once for all, with Divine powers and privileges ; as if the Holy Spirit had relinquished His direct relation to souls, nay, had abdicated His power and energies in favor of the Church and her means of grace."²

John Albert Bengel, perhaps the greatest theologian of his generation, lived and died (1752) in expectation of a speedy judgment. "It is," said he, "as if spiritual winter is coming on ; it is a miserably cold time, and an awakening must come. . . . The power of reason and nature is exaggerated beyond measure, so that we shall soon not know what is faith and grace, and, in a word, what is supernatural. . . . The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is already gone ; that of Christ is on the wane ; and that of the creation hangs by only a slender thread. . . . It is made a part of politics to so act and speak as to leave no trace of religion, God, and Christ."³

¹ LESLIE STEPHEN : *History of English Thought in the 18th Century*, i. 76.

² DR. J. A. DÖRNER : *History of Protestant Theology*, Eng. ed. ii. 213.

³ HAGENBACH : *History of the Church in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, i. 383.

"As far as Christology is concerned," says Dorner, "a declension from the ancient Lutheran doctrine concerning the Person of Christ had long set in even among the orthodox divines. The edifice of Lutheran Christology had been, for the most part, already forsaken by its inhabitants before 1750.¹ . . . A deistical atmosphere seemed to have settled upon this generation, and to have cut it off from vital communion with God. To order one's self according to mere natural reason and self-complacency in this finite state of existence, and to think of nothing beyond it, were regarded as true wisdom and sound common-sense. Religion was converted into morality, and morality into the politic teaching of Eudæmonism, in a coarser or more refined form."²

"Atheism," said Leibnitz, in the early part of the century, "will be the last of heresies ; and in effect indifference, which marches in its train, is not a doctrine, for genuine Indifferents deny nothing, affirm nothing ; it is not even doubt, for doubt being suspense between contrary probabilities supposes a previous examination : it is a systematic ignorance, a voluntary sleep of the soul. . . . Such is the hideous and sterile monster which they call indifference. All philosophic theories, all doctrines of impiety, have melted and disappeared in *this devouring system, . . . this fatal system*, BECOME ALMOST UNIVERSAL. . . . The state to which we are approaching is one of the signs by which will be recognized that last war announced by Jesus Christ : *Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth ?*"³

In England the Deistic atmosphere brooded over the land through the first half of the eighteenth century, then coming to final dissolution in the scepticism of Hume, who issued his *Natural History of Religion* in 1757, and therein attempted to show that Religion owed its origin to the tendency of the human mind to personify the causes of phenomena. In the same year, 1757, appeared Brown's *Estimate of the Manners*

¹ DR. DORNER : Op. cit. ii. 274.

² Ibid. ii. 296.

³ PALMER : *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, i. 348.

and Principles of the Times, showing their chief characteristics to be "a vain, luxurious, and selfish effeminacy." "Our principles," said he, "are as bad as our manners; religion is universally ridiculed, and yet our irreligion is shallow. Thus by a gradual and unperceived decline, we seem gliding down from ruin to ruin; we laugh, we sing, we feast, we play, and in blind security, though not in innocence, resemble Pope's lamb, licking the hand just raised to shed his blood."¹

In 1690 John Evelyn had noted in his *Diary* the prediction of the Bishop of St. Asaph that the judgment would come in thirty years; and he himself, gentleman and courtier, wrote that if ever corruption betokened a judgment at hand, then was the time. In 1713, in a Pastoral Charge to his clergy, Bishop Burnet said: "I see the imminent ruin hanging over the Church, and by consequence over the whole Reformation. The outward state of things is bad enough, God knows; but that which heightens our fears rises chief from the inward state into which we have unhappily fallen." In 1748 the excellent David Hartley said, in his *Observations on Man*:

"There are six things which seem more especially to threaten ruin and dissolution to the present States of Christendom —

"1. The great growth of atheism and infidelity, particularly amongst the governing parts of the States.

"2. The open and abandoned lewdness to which great numbers of both sexes, especially in the high ranks of life, have given themselves up.

"3. The sordid and avowed self-interest which is almost the sole motive of action in those who are concerned in the administration of public affairs.

"4. The licentiousness and contempt of every kind of authority, divine or human, which is so notorious in inferiors of all ranks.

"5. The great worldly-mindedness of the clergy and their gross neglect in the discharge of their proper functions.

¹ LESLIE STEPHEN: Op. cit. ii. 195.

"6. The carelessness and infatuation of parents and magistrates, with respect to the education of youth, and the consequent early corruption of the rising generation."

According to Abbey and Overton,—

"It was about the middle of the century when irreligion and immorality reached their climax. In 1753 Sir John Barnard said publicly: 'At present it really seems to be the fashion for a man to declare himself of no religion.' In the same year [Archbishop] Secker declared that immorality and irreligion were grown almost beyond ecclesiastical power. . . . If we ask what was the state of the lower classes, we find such notices as these in a contemporary historian: '1729-30.—Luxury created necessities, and these drove the lower ranks into the most abandoned wickedness. It was unsafe to travel or walk in the streets. . . . 1731.—Profligacy among the people continued to an amazing degree.' H. Walpole writes of 1751: 'The vices of the lower people were increased to a degree of robbery and murder beyond example.'"¹

The thirty years of peace following 1714, though materially "the most prosperous season that England had ever experienced," were nevertheless, says Pattison, "one of decay of religion, licentiousness of morals, public corruption, profaneness of language,—a day of rebuke and blasphemy."²

If such was the condition in sober, moral England, we need not say that in France it was far worse. Not to describe the manners, let us only hear one or two of the public utterances of the time. In 1758 appeared at Paris the essay of Helvetius, *De l'Esprit*, of which it was said by a famous woman that it uttered only the secret of all the world. "Self-love or interest," says the author, "is the lever of all our mental activities. . . . But since all self-love refers essentially only to bodily pleasure, it follows that every mental occurrence within us has its peculiar source only in the striving after this

¹ ABBEY and OVERTON: *The English Church in the 18th Century*, ii. 44.

² M. PATTISON: *Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750*.

pleasure ; but in saying this we have indicated where the principle of all morality is to be sought. It is an absurdity to require a man to do the good simply for its own sake. . . . Hence if morality would not be wholly fruitless, it must return to its empirical basis, and venture to adopt the true principle of all action ; namely, sensuous pleasure and pain, or, in other words, selfishness as an actual moral principle."¹

La Mettrie, who died in 1751, declared everything spiritual to be a delusion, and physical enjoyment to be the highest end of man. He says,—

"Faith in the existence of a God is as groundless as it is fruitless. The world will not be happy till atheism becomes universally established. . . . In reference to the human soul there can be no philosophy but materialism. All the observation and experience of the greatest philosophers and physicians declare this. Soul is nothing but a mere name, which has a rational signification only when we understand by it that part of our body which thinks. This is the brain. . . . Immortality is an absurdity. The soul perishes with the body of which it forms a part. With death everything is over : *la farce est jouée!*"²

Whether in grim humor or in earnest, it was in perfect keeping with the times that Cabanis was said to have discovered religion and poetry to be the product, some say function, of the small intestines.³ Well might Carlyle say, in his *Life of Frederick the Great*,⁴—

"A century so opulent in accumulated falsities,—sad opulence, descending on it by inheritance, always at compound interest, and always largely increased by fresh acquirement on such immensity of standing capital,—opulent in that bad way as never century before was ! Which had no longer the consciousness of being false, so false had it grown ; and was so steeped in falsity, and impregnated with it to the very bone,

¹ SCHWEGLER: *History of Philosophy*, p. 235.

² *Ibid.* 239.

³ See Carlyle's *Essay on the Signs of the Times*.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 11.

that—in fact the measure of the thing was full, and a French Revolution had to end it.”

Were not observers of the times justified in thinking that the judgment-day of the Church was at hand?¹ Was not her sun in heaven darkened? Did not her moon, faith in the sun, fail to give its light? Were not her stars, knowledges of Divine truth,² all falling from their place? Could her authority and power for good fall lower? Could greater abuses possess her citadels, sins more needing condemnation? Was not her measure full? Had not Bengel reason to think that God’s “mighty judgments” were about to come?

Let us suppose that Bengel has slept these hundred and thirty years, and now we awake him. We take him on the Sabbath-day to all the churches in the land. Everywhere, in church and Sabbath-school, he hears his beloved Gospel read with reverence and charity, and the Commandments taught, with the grace of our Lord Jesus. Of predestination, of the damnation of infants and the heathen, he happily hears not a word. Take him on the week-day through the public schools, to the charitable institutions, to the Bible societies, where he may see the Gospel in a hundred and fifty languages, ready to be sent from pole to pole, from sun to sun. Take him to his own home in Germany, and let him meet the British Bible-Society agent on his mission there. Let him go into the old theological halls and hear the doctors reverently carrying on the exegetical study that he himself introduced; patiently and laboriously discovering in all the Scriptures the things concerning their Lord;³ discarding with care such teachings of the later Church as he condemned; with all their might reconciling philosophy with Christianity;⁴ earnestly seeking to bring to view the Personal Christ as the

¹ Körtz, referring to the remarkable number of mystical pietists in the first half of the 18th century, says: “The utterances which took place in an ecstatic state were exhortations to repentance, to prayer, to imitation of Christ, revelations of the Divine will in regard to the affairs of society, and announcement of the approaching judgment of God over the degenerate world and Church.”

² Swedenborg.

³ Appendix III.

⁴ Appendix IV.

real Divine impersonation ; in short, as Dorner says, regenerating theology.¹ Let him see with them side by side, almost hand in hand, the advanced Catholic theologians, pursuing the same studies, with nearly the same results.² And, does he ask more about the Roman Catholic Church, show him the temporal power a suppliant at every Court in Europe, but the spiritual power never so great in restraining the evil passions of men, in educating and curing souls. And, does he ask about Papal, clerical corruptions, tell him that their day is past ; they are forgotten. Let him sit with us day by day and read the constantly surprising utterances of hopeful faith from the pulpit, from the press,³ from royal lips, from dying statesmen ; and, overlooking the wide margin of lost ground yet to be recovered by the Church, will he not joyfully exclaim that he was right ; that the judgment was coming, and is now passed ; that the "spiritual winter" is over ; that "the good and pleasant spring weather gains the upper hand, and the verdure breaks out from beneath the snow ;"⁴ that the Day-spring from on high is now again visiting His people ?

So Hagenbach, in his *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* :—

"Vehement storms, quite beyond human control, have broken through the badly kept enclosure, and have borne off

¹ "Regenerated German theology exercises, in the present century, a very powerful influence upon foreign Reformed Churches. Since about 1750, indeed, their own theological activity may be said, in many instances, to have stagnated ; they have, therefore, been the more easily affected, though some decayed subsequently, by the movements of German theology." — DR. DORNER: *History of Protestant Theology*, ii. 473.

² "In the history of recent German Catholicism . . . we again find solid ground ; for a more intimate reciprocity exists between the Protestants and Catholics in Germany than in France. German science is the beautiful bond, uniting those who adhere to different confessional standpoints. . . . Protestants and Catholics have been nourished as twin-brothers at the same breast of German philosophy, though each one has assimilated his nourishment differently. The Catholic and the Protestant theology of Germany have passed through the same stages of development." — HAGENBACH: *Op. cit.* ii. 440.

³ As we write, we read in a daily journal: "American publishers are unwilling to print essays or books of professed atheists."

⁴ Bengel's words quoted by Hagenbach.

what had been well nurtured. Volcanoes have sent forth their long-restrained fires, and the lava-stream has flowed over many a happy field. But there have come into play those healing forces which are as little within the grasp of human power as the destructive ones. Bright, fruitful sunbeams have announced the dawn of a new age, and a Higher Voice than that of man has called out of the chaos new creations, whose germ could scarcely have been imagined in the preceding centuries." ¹

So Dr. John Cairns, in his essay on *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century* :—

"Not only was the Deistic wave rolled back by the dikes opposed to it, but by a higher influence was made to fertilize the recovered soil. The beleaguered fortress was not only set free, but in its lowest depths was opened a spring of living water. . . . Christianity has not been saved to us in Great Britain mainly by the arguments of Butler and Sherlock, but by the slow yet sure revival that began to spread over the whole English-speaking world ; nor was Germany rescued from rationalism, in so far as it has been, merely by professors and theologians meeting negative criticism, but by the return of visible Christianity, and by the calling forth of prayer which has power with God. Here, as everywhere, faith has brought victory ; and who that contrasts the fortunes and prospects of Christianity almost anywhere in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with what they were in the eighteenth, can deny that Christianity has not only survived but overcome ?" ²

As unanimous as is the testimony to the increasing corruption and desolation of the Church up to the middle of the last century, so unanimous is the testimony to the amendment and revivification during the century now past. And if Bengel should inquire of us what time the sick man began to amend, the answer would be remarkable : it could be no other than, "Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him." ³ The seventh hour with the Jews was the hour past

¹ Vol. ii. p. 2.

² Pages 87, 191.

³ John iv. 52.

noon. The decade after the middle of the last century is constantly referred to by English and German historians as the period of the downfall of Deism. Thus Dr. Dörner :—

“A further result of the conflicts and disorders in the region of politics, morals, and religion was the appearance of *Deism* after the second half of the seventeenth century, and its unchecked and triumphant progress till about 1750. . . . In 1750 many who desired that the excellence of Christian morality should be admitted, owned their obligations to Deism for having delivered them from superstition and dogmatism. Thus was Deism dreaming of its victory over Christianity. . . . But it was just now, when in the public opinion of the educated world the victory of Deism seemed in a scientific aspect decided, and when being unobstructed by opponents it was to begin to develop the supposed fulness and self-assurance of Deistic reason, in the place of that Christianity which it rejected, that its emptiness became apparent, and it incurred the fate of all negative criticism. It had unconsciously been living upon its adversary, theological science ; and when this succumbed, it fell with it.”¹

This testimony of “the greatest living theologian,” in his *History of Protestant Theology*, to the common fall, just after 1750, both of the old “theological science,” belonging to the scheme of faith alone, and of Deistic reason, is noteworthy. So again Leslie Stephen : “Every creed decays ; or certainly the creed decayed in this instance, as it became incapable of satisfying the instincts of various classes of the population, and the perception of its logical defects was the consequence, not the cause, of its gradual break-up. . . . Towards the middle of the century the decay of the old schools of theology was becoming complete. Watts died in 1748 ;² Doddridge

¹ Dr. DÖRNER : Op. cit. ii. 90.

² With the going to sleep of the good man and of the Church at about the same hour, it is pleasant to associate his own tender evening prayer :—

“I lay my body down to sleep,
Let angels guard my head ;
And thro’ the hours of darkness keep
Their watch around my bed.”

in 1751; the good Bishop Wilson died in his ninety-third year, in 1755."¹

While thus in Germany and England the doctrines of the Protestant Church were engaged in a death struggle with its own offspring, Deism, in France Jesuitism, in behalf of Papal supremacy, was engaged in a similar struggle with Jansenism, a new Calvinistic offshoot still clinging to the mother Church. The immediate bone of contention was the Bull *Unigenitus*, which was specially aimed at the Jansenist Testament of Father Quesnel. For forty years the contention had gone on. It was perceived by both sides to involve the question of existence. From 1753 to 1755, Parliament espoused the cause of the Jansenists, running the risk of excommunication. In 1756 Louis XV. interposed to save the Jesuits, and by an act of supreme sovereignty compelled Parliament to register an edict in favor of the Bull. Great excitement ensued, and a severe conflict for three years longer, when of a sudden the Jesuits found their power with the King mysteriously gone. The same year, 1759, they were expelled from Portugal, in 1764 from France, and in 1773 the order was abolished by Papal decree. Not less plainly than of Protestant dogma and Protestant Deism, is the breaking point of Romish domination seen to have been in the seventh hour of yester-century.

The fever had left the man as dead. There was now no longer any Church power existing. Romanism had failed. Lutheranism and Calvinism had failed. Deism, or scientific religion, had failed. Hume had proved with incontestable logic that natural reason was powerless to substantiate a religion. The fountain of living waters was forsaken; cisterns were hewn out, broken cisterns; they could hold no water.² The desolation was complete.³ And yet in honest hearts there remained good soil in which the seed of the Gospel was even then springing up to bear fruit a hundred-fold. Had not their Lord said of John, the apostle of love

¹ Op. cit. i. 381, 388.

² Jeremiah, ii. 13.

³ Appendix V.

and good works, "What if I will that he tarry till I come?" though Peter, the apostle of faith in Him, should have grown old and been carried where he would not, even unto the death?¹

The story of the good seed sown by many in many lands, notably by Spener and Zinzendorf in Germany, Wesley and Whitefield² in England and America, is too long for us here to tell. Suffice it that the sowing seems to have been that of John the Baptist, rather than that of the Son of Man, calling forth indeed fruit meet for repentance, but fruit still partaking too much of the old root and of human weakness.

Neither can we tell of the terrible devastation that followed in France, whence the good soil of Protestantism had been expelled, when infidelity came to cope with the failing power of Romanism; and it was as if seven devils had been brought back more wicked than the first. What we have to do is to inquire whether our good Bengel's judgment—the judgment foretold by our Lord in Matthew, and foreshadowed to John in vision—has really taken place, or whether we are to look for another such time of desolation, and worse. God forbid the latter conclusion! Possibly it would be like the Jews' awaiting their Messiah. We have seen strong indications of a crisis, of the turning of the fever, soon after the middle of the last century. At that very time, culminating in 1757,³ Swedenborg tells us that the vision of the judgment, described in the Apocalypse, was fulfilled in all particulars, not in this world, but in the world of spirits, on those who had been collecting there through the long centuries of Christian misrule.

¹ According to Schelling: "The periods of the Church are typified by the three principal Apostles, Peter, Paul, and John. Of these periods the first two, Catholicism and Protestantism, have passed; while the third, Johannine Christianity, is approaching."—SCHWEGLER: *History of Philosophy*, p. 390.

² We are not unmindful that both the Pietism of Spener and the Moravianism of Zinzendorf contained elements of weakness, and lost in time their power for good; and that the religion of Wesley, and still more that of Whitefield, contained a leaven of Calvinism which has to die. Yet they all incited an active faith and desire for new life. See Appendix VI.

³ The year when began the "Seven Years' War;" and, according to Hume, "in 1758 the war raged in all quarters of the world."

The thought is new ; but what more reasonable? Clearly, the judgment should not be on a single generation of men. The whole idea and description forbid. But it has been assumed that all these generations which had gone would return to the earth to be judged. What more unreasonable? This could be only by the assumption again of earthly bodies, and the day for such a supposition is gone by. We do not hesitate to say that such a spiritual fulfilment as Swedenborg describes is the only one that in this age can be accepted.¹ There will remain then the question of time. What time more probable, when we take into view the nearness and the connection of the one world with the other, than the time when the old life of the Church came to its end, there was a pause, and then new life with astonishing power began to spring forth? In short, what time more probable than when Bengel felt it must come, and would now believe it did come? Is any time conceivable in the future more probable? It will not do to fall back on the old idea of "the end of the world." No one of common-sense now believes that this world will come to an end within practically conceivable time. Every one knows that the Greek words mean "the consummation of the age." (Matt. xxiv. 3 ; xxviii. 30.) Need we look for a more thorough consummation of a Christian age than was that of the last century?²

One question remains : how does Swedenborg profess to know this? He says that he was permitted to witness it, the eyes of his spirit being opened for the purpose. But is that possible? All things are possible to Him who openeth the eyes of the blind. But for what purpose did the Lord grant so great a privilege to one man? Through him to tell it all to us,—all about heaven and hell that in this new age we need to know ; and most of all to unfold to us in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself, as seen in His own light,—the

¹ What other was the judgment accomplished at our Lord's first coming, when He beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven?

² Appendix VII.

light of heaven ; in short, to reveal in His Word the transparent stones, the gates, the wall, and the streets of His Holy City,—His tabernacle ready to descend to us out of heaven.

No demonstration of the need of such a revelation, of its coincidence with prophecy, of fit attendant circumstances, avails for its establishment. We ask with reason, Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? The only thing to do is to come and see. To the disciples of John the Baptist, who are many in these days, and who come to learn whether this is what was to come, the only answer can be, See whether, being blind, you will now receive sight ; being lame you will walk ; being deaf you will hear ; being dead you will be raised up ; being poor you will have the Gospel preached to you. If such are the works of the revelation of Divine and heavenly truth in the Sacred Scriptures, by the hand of Swedenborg, blessed are they who are not offended therein. At the same time, admitting the possibility of such revelation, it is most natural and proper to inquire as to its medium ; what fitness he had for such a mission, and in what manner he performed it. It is these inquiries that we are to find answered in the following pages, bearing in mind, however, that it is a suitable man of the age that we are to look to see ; not an imaginary one of the future, nor a traditional one of the past. When the Lord has new things to say to men, He says them through one whose ideas and language are those of the men to whom He would speak.¹

¹ "Great transitions commonly find their beginnings in a single soul. Their source is apparently insignificant, and generally undetected, until the stream of history has revealed its power." — Rev. GEORGE MATHESON: *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 330.

CHAPTER II.

SWEDENBORG'S PARENTAGE.

IN the middle of the seventeenth century, while our New England fathers were clearing land and making new homes for themselves in the American wilderness, where they might worship God and bring up their children according to their own conscience, the grandfather of Emanuel Swedenborg, Daniel Isaksson,¹ was rearing his family on his homestead called "Sweden," near Fahlun, a hundred and twenty miles northwest from Stockholm.² Daniel, like his father before him, was a miner and mine-owner, "honest, far from worldly pride and luxury, and bent upon speaking the truth." For the sake of his large family of children, he piously thought, his undertakings were prospered. One of twenty-four hard-working miners who succeeded in draining a deserted mine, with the rest he became wealthy. Far, however, from being made proud by his prosperity, Daniel Isaksson would often say while at dinner, "Thank you, my children, for this meal, for I have dined with you, and not you with me ; God has given me food for your sakes."

Daniel's son Jesper, born in 1653, took the name of Swedenborg, from the homestead. The father's piety was continued in the son, and was strengthened at an early age by his rescue from great peril. A flood caused a small mill-stream in the neighborhood to overflow its banks. Jesper and an older brother stood near the mill. The brother sprang on a beam

¹ Isaksson, or Isaacsson, was the son of Isaac Nilson, who was the son of Nils Ottesson, who was the son of Otto, of Sundborg, an opulent miner.

² The facts of this sketch of the Swedenborg family are mainly drawn from the Swedish *Biographiskt Lexicon*, as translated in Tafel's *Documents*, No. 10.

that crossed the stream, and dared Jesper to follow. Not to be outdone, he made the attempt, but fell into the stream and was swept under the wheel. Catching his feet, the wheel stopped, but held him fast. With great exertions he was got out, apparently lifeless. No wonder that, after his life was brought to him again, he resolved "never to forget, either morning or evening, to commit himself to God's keeping, and to the protection of the holy angels." It was a marked feature of his whole after life to believe in Divine interposition and protection. From a child it used to be his greatest delight to read the Bible and preach, in his way, to poor people. Unfortunate in his early teachers at Upsal, he went at sixteen to Lund, where he had good instruction, but developed youthful conceit. "When I went to Upsal," he says, "I was dressed in blue stockings, Swedish leather shoes, and a simple blue mantle. I never ventured to go forward in church, but always remained near the benches of the common people. But in Lund I became as wordly-minded as the rest. I procured for myself a long, black wig,—I, too, was dark and tall; to this I added a large, long overcoat, and above all a scarf over my shoulders, such as wordly-minded people wore. In my own opinion, there was no one equal to me; I thought all should make room for me, and take off their hats very humbly in my presence."

Fortunately this young pride was early abashed. At the age of twenty-one, after a little travelling in Denmark, Jesper applied to Magister Brunner, at Upsal, for a theological scholarship. "Brunner, astonished at the student dress of Lund, which Swedberg had not yet laid aside, looked at him sharply, crossed himself, and asked whether he, who was dressed in such a worldly manner and in court costume, desired to become a minister of the gospel. Swedberg did not wait to be asked this question a second time. He went home, took off the offensive garb, and purchased a simple grayish-black cloak; and this, he added, was done just at the right time." Magister Brunner soon learned to like the

young man, and after two years took him into his own house as tutor to his son. "In Brunner's house," says Swedberg, "I learned much that was good, both in respect to manners and to literary acquirements ; but especially I learned how to lead a pious, honorable, and serious life ; for he himself was spiritually-minded, both in his conversation and in his intercourse with others, in his dress and in his whole being."

After a full course of study and several years' practice in preaching in the parish of his preceptor, who died in 1679, Swedberg received in 1682 his degree of Magister. In the following year he was married ; and in 1684, with the aid of his wife's fortune, he travelled in England, where he was deeply impressed with the sanctity with which Sunday was observed ; and in France, where he was struck with the Catholic care of the poor and needy, in seeing "how the wealthier members of the community went out in the evening into the streets and lanes, to look after the poor, the sick, and those without shelter ; how distinguished ladies and countesses, dressed in common garments, sought the sick and the helpless, and exhibited towards them as much mercy as they would towards their own blood relations." In Belgium, Holland, and Germany he visited, as was customary, men distinguished for piety and erudition. At Strasburg he became the guest of Professor Bebel, and formed a valued intimacy with him and with Professor Sebastian Schmidt, then doubtless at work on his Latin translation of the Bible, which became the text of Swedenborg's exposition. These learned men Swedberg thereafter called his "two spiritual fathers." At Frankfort he had a desire to visit Spener, the originator of the Pietistic movement, but was prevented by Spener's illness. Meeting there Ludolphus, and blushing at hearing from him that no Swedish grammar had ever been published in Sweden, he made it a point later in life to write a grammar, and in other ways to make zealous efforts for the purity of the language. At Hamburg he lived some time with the learned

and pious Edzardus, delighted with his zeal in converting the Jews, and with his patriarchal simplicity, as he laid his hands upon the heads of his grown-up children and blessed them, "just as the patriarch Jacob blessed his sons Ephraim and Manasseh, and just as Christ blessed the little children." "I am unable," said he, "to describe in what a godly and earnest manner this man lived; may God bless his soul in His eternal kingdom!" Such were the forming influences that the young preacher sought and found, while others found but sinks of iniquity. In them we must see mirrored his own heart's delight.

Returning home in August, 1685, Swedberg was ordained and appointed chaplain to the King's Regiment of Life Guards. In the absence of the regiment in Upland, he took up his residence at Stockholm, where he often preached as royal chaplain, though he did not receive formal appointment till 1689. Not satisfied with occasional preaching to his regiment, he taught the soldiers their catechism. At first questioning they trembled, much more than under fire of the enemy. But soon they pressed upon him, and could not hear enough. In his zeal he promised to give a catechism to every man of the regiment who could read it at the next annual inspection. There were then three hundred who could read. The next year there were six hundred, and our poor preacher had to beg the King's assistance to pay for his catechisms. An uncounted handful of ducats was the royal response. The straightforward honesty of Swedberg, frank and blunt to a fault, always gained the sovereign ear, wearied with the hypocrisy of the Court. Charles XI., in want of public funds, trenched severely on the manorial rights of his people. Swedberg, as royal chaplain, preached from the text, "Ye hate the good and love the evil; ye pluck off their skin from them and their flesh from off their bones, and eat the flesh of my people; and when ye have flayed their skin from off them, ye break their bones also in pieces,"—making the application plain. "Shall the parson speak in this style?" asked an officer of

the King. "Did the parson confirm his sermon by God's Word?" asked the King in reply. The complainant could not say nay, and the King dismissed him thus royally: "If the parson has God's Word, the King has nothing to say against it."

Naturally, in gaining the favor of the King, the plain preacher gained the enmity of many at Court, whose sins he did not spare, and by whom he was often near losing his place and life. But his honest boldness, not without a degree of shrewdness, always saved him. Having a daughter born while royal chaplain, he was unwilling to have the baptism at his house, as was then the fashion, though contrary to the law of the Church. Going to the King, he asked whether he should have his child baptized according to the fashion of Stockholm, or according to the law of the Church. The King could not but say, "According to the law of the Church." "Yes, but I cannot do so, because in that case I shall get neither a priest nor godparents." The King was pleased with the bold challenge, and engaged to be present, by his royal marshal, as godfather, and the Queen as godmother. The baptism took place in church, though not without the exercise of royal authority to secure a priest. In short, Charles XI. had so much confidence in Swedberg that he would refuse him nothing. "Ask of me what you will," said he one day, "and you shall have it." "From that day," says Swedberg, "I became more serious and more earnest in everything I spoke, and in everything I represented; so that I never asked for anything either for myself or for my family, not even a half-farthing's worth. . . . I prayed to God fervently that I might not exalt myself in consequence, nor abuse this favor, but that I might make use of it for the honor of God's name, for the service of His Church, and for the sake of the common welfare." Thus in Church matters, especially in appointments, Swedberg became a frequent adviser to the King. Simple-hearted, earnest men found themselves promoted, they knew not how; while many a vain man found himself disappointed.

As a boy, Swedberg had suffered under the hands of an ignorant, drunken pedagogue. As soon as he got the ear of the King, he informed him of the miserable condition of the schools. The King was vexed that no one had told him the truth before, and proposed to raise the pay of all the teachers in the land. But Swedberg showed him a cheaper and better way,—to issue an order for the government of schools, giving schoolmasters an honorable position, and after three years' good service giving them preference for curacies. Perhaps in Swedberg alone Charles made an exception to the distrust he acquired in all men. Shortly before his death, he said to him, "I have ruled in Sweden three-and-twenty years. When I first became King, I trusted everybody; now I trust nobody." To this Swedberg replied, "That is not right. To trust everybody is foolish, for there are many wicked and silly people." "The world is full of them," interposed Charles. "But to trust nobody," continued Swedberg, "is very bad; for there are many good, honest, and wise men." "Ah, it is now too late," said the King.¹

From 1690 Swedberg held the appointment of pastor at Vingåker. In 1692 he took up his residence among these simple country people, with whom he greatly desired to be. "The affection and love which existed between the congregation and myself," he said, "can scarcely be described. They sufficiently manifested their good-will towards me by pulling down the old dilapidated parsonage, and building in its stead a new one, with many comfortable rooms, without any expense to myself. I received there so many marks of kindness and affection, that scarcely a day passed without their providing me richly with everything necessary for house-keeping. At first this pleased me very much, but it afterwards fairly oppressed and scared me." That the good people saw reason enough for their affection, we may judge from a single specimen of their pastor's kindness. To the widow

¹ WILLIAM WHITE: *Emanuel Swedenborg,—His Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 18.

and children of his predecessor he not only allowed the use of the parsonage and all its estate for a year, but surrendered to them half of the income and paid all their taxes. Later in life he said of himself,—“So little was I ever troubled about receiving my stipend, that I never sent a reminder to a farmer who owed me his tithe, but was satisfied with what he gave of his own free-will.”

We cannot help pitying the poor people of Vingåker, as we find their pastor compelled the same year, when moving the last of his furniture into the new vicarage, to accept first a professorship and then the rectorship at the University of Upsal. He himself would have been a happy man if he could have remained in the quiet seclusion of a country pastorate. He begged the King to excuse him, as he had been unused to college work for ten years. The King insisted and Swedberg complied, saying, “In God’s name it cannot be helped. I shall do my best, and fly to God for help; but your Majesty must protect my back.” “I will do that,” said the King. Swedberg stretched out his hand, saying, “Will your Majesty give me your hand as an assurance?” which Charles at once cordially did.¹

Wherever Swedberg was, he must be a zealous reformer; and so in public stations he was sure to encounter opposition from those whose conduct or prejudices he attacked. Some years previously, he had been appointed by the King on a commission to revise the Swedish Bible. In his zealous way he not only pushed forward the revision, but also advanced fifty thousand dalers in copper,² belonging to his wife and children, to import the materials and workmen for printing, the King guaranteeing him against loss. The work was fruitless, because of the opposition of the clergy. The same fate was shared at a more advanced stage by a new hymn and psalm-book, on which Swedberg and others bestowed great labor.

¹ Op. cit. i. 11.

² The daler in copper was worth about 6½ cents, the daler in silver about 18¾ cents. Fifty thousand dalers in copper was, then, about \$3,250.

The book was seized as soon as printed, and never issued.¹ The ostensible charge against it was of heresy, because the Saviour was called in it the "Son of Man," as well as the "Son of God." But the real objection was that the clergy had not all had a hand in the work. By order of the King, Swedberg was repaid twenty thousand dalers; but he still made a loss of thirty thousand, and his printer was ruined.

"Upsal,² where Swedberg now lived, was a pleasant city of some five thousand inhabitants, set in a wide undulating plain, and made up of low-built houses of wood and stone, surrounded with gardens. In the centre of the city stood the grand cathedral, esteemed the finest Gothic building in Scandinavia, where Sweden's kings of old were crowned, and the bones of many rested. Built around this 'beautiful house of God,' in a spacious square, were the university buildings, two houses in which Swedberg owned as professor and rector. Here in this fine square our boy Emanuel spent his childhood and found his play-ground."³ At the university, where he received one professorship after another, Swedberg had great satisfaction and success. "It is incredible and indescribable," he says, "what courage, consolation, and freedom are derived from a pure and lawful vocation; and, on the other hand, how much those are disheartened who have not this comfort." This he said on entering the First Professorship of Theology. In 1695 he was installed as Dean of the Cathedral.

During his ten years at Upsal he lectured, preached, exhorted, and examined the students incessantly; how happily, we may judge from his own words:—

"I experienced this grace from God, that there was such unity and trust among the teachers that there was never any dissension. I lived in the large square, and I can affirm that

¹ Nevertheless, some copies got over to the Swedish colony in Delaware; and a note is preserved written by Swedberg's son-in-law, Benzelius, May, 1742, directing his son to pay to his uncle, Assessor Swedenborg, 256 dalers in copper, "a part of the sum paid by Momme for the hymn-book."

² Thirty-nine miles N.N.W. from Stockholm.

³ Op. cit. i. 13.

during these ten years I did not hear ten brawls or disturbances in the streets. When both my buildings were burned down, in the great conflagration after Ascension-day, the students manifested towards me so much kindness, carrying out and saving everything except the fixtures, that, thank God ! I suffered little harm ; and such pure affection they constantly exhibited towards me during the whole of my stay amongst them. I can also assert that during the whole of this time his Majesty never received an unfavorable report from the university, although previously these reports had been very unfavorable indeed."

Of the building of one of the dwellings here mentioned, a large stone house in the square, Swedberg tells a pleasant story : "I know, and I can testify, for I was always present, that not the least work was done, that not a single stone was raised, with sighs or a troubled mind ; but all was done cheerfully and gladly. No complaint, no hard or disagreeable word was heard, no scoldings and no oaths were uttered." When the house was finished, he opened it by inviting and entertaining all the poor of the town,—himself, wife, and children waiting upon them,—and concluding the feast with singing, prayer, thanksgiving, and mutual blessing.

The conflagration "after Ascension-day" was sad to Swedberg, on account of the loss to his people, especially that of their cathedral. In their behalf he sends a touching petition to the young King, Charles XII., through his sister, the Princess Ulrica Eleonora. "If only the Lord's own beautiful house had been preserved ! Our losses, although they are very great, can be repaired."

The answer to his petition was an appointment as bishop. "I had never expected this. It was the fourth royal decree I had received. And with a clear conscience I can declare before my God, who knows everything, that I never coveted this, never opened my mouth, and never stirred a step, still less gave a farthing, to obtain it. For I had always been an enemy of all importuning and bribery." But Charles XII. had

already begun to show the same confidence in Swedberg that his father had shown, and never resented his frank petitions for whatever seemed to him good.

In 1698 a second tenth-tax on the clergy had been proposed, to raise money for war purposes. An effort was made in the chapter at Upsal to send a remonstrance to the King. Swedberg alone dared undertake the commission. He arrived where Charles was, on the eve of the Sabbath, and of a masquerade to be held on that day. "Cannot your Honor," said he to the clergyman of the place, "preach the masquerade out of the heads of the King and his lords?" To the negative reply he said, "Well, then, let me preach." He preached, and no masquerade was held that day, nor afterwards. He then drew up a short petition to the King, and wrote after his name, "Genesis xlvii. 22." The King asked his attendants what it meant. They looked up the passage and read: "Only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion assigned them by Pharaoh, that they should eat it." "Let the clergy alone," said his Majesty, "and let them have what they are accustomed to have."

A few years later, while Charles XII. was in Poland, preparing to invade Russia, heavy pressure being brought on the people to furnish men and material for war, Swedberg wrote a vigorous protest to the King against the poor priests' being compelled to furnish a dragoon apiece, by which "some have had to borrow money at usury, and even to sell their Bibles, in order to rig out a soldier." With difficulty he persuaded the chapter at Skara to sign the paper; but the King received it kindly and referred it to the Defence Commission, with orders to take the complaint into due consideration, and to make it as easy for the clergy as possible. As, however, no other chapter had been bold enough to ask relief, the Commission decided against Swedberg, and even compelled him to furnish two dragoons in place of one. Still later, after Charles's return to Sweden, we find the Bishop boldly asking similar favors, seldom granted; though the King always

received him kindly, conversed with him familiarly, invited him to his table, and encouraged him in his labors for the good of the people.

Skara, Swedberg's new diocese, lies between Lakes Wenner and Wetter, in the southern part of Sweden. Removing, in 1703, from Upsal to Brunsbo, his seat near Skara, when just fifty years old, he made his home there till he died, thirty-two years later. The duties of his bishopric he fulfilled with characteristic fidelity and vigor. For twenty-six years he said he had never neglected to attend public worship, but had indefatigably preached from the Gospels and Epistles, had held confessions, read with his curates, and himself held the examinations in the catechisms, believing more good to be done by them than by artistic preaching. "He followed and recommended the simple analytical mode of preaching, where the sermons flowed without any straining or forcing from the text; for, said he, 'then God recognizes again His own Word.'"

Pietism at this time had spread into Sweden, and was branded as heresy by the orthodox. Bishop Swedberg attended a prayer-meeting of the Pietists, to learn about them for himself, and then publicly declared that he could fully approve of them, and that it would be very desirable for every father of a family to hold similar meetings in his own house. Boldly bearing the same testimony in the consistory, he caused Pietism to be more leniently dealt with that year in the Diet.

In 1712 the Bishop's seat at Brunsbo was burned, with the barns and outhouses and all their contents. Hardest of all for him, all his books and manuscripts were destroyed. To Queen¹ Ulrica Eleonora, as after the fire at Upsal, he announced his affliction with deep humility. "I acknowledge sorrowfully my sins," he said, "which have provoked the wrath of God; I am thankful, however, that I am able to bear it

¹ She was not Queen till after Charles's death, in 1718; but about this time she assumed to reign in his absence, for which she was reproved on his return.

with such good courage." He rejoiced that his little pocket Bible was saved, his companion for forty-four years; and he took comfort on finding unharmed in the ashes a copy of his exercises in the Catechism, and a copper-plate engraving of himself, from which he inferred the Divine favor.¹

Over the gateway of Brunsbo rebuilt, Swedberg placed the words of King David :

"THEREFORE NOW LET IT PLEASE THEE TO BLESS THE
HOUSE OF THY SERVANT."

But the poor man had yet another fire to pass through, for his purification. In 1730 Magister Unge wrote to his brother-in-law Emanuel,—

"*Most honored and dear brother,*—You are probably aware that Brunsbo was again reduced to ashes by a vehement conflagration between the 18th and 19th of August, and the Bishop came very near being burned himself. The large wooden building together with the stone house is destroyed, and everything it contained. The silver in the chest, as much as was in it, was saved, but everything out of it, for ordinary use, was lost. All our dear father's printed works, the newly reprinted Catechism, all his manuscripts, with the exception of one copy of the book of sermons and one of the biography, and his entire remaining library are lying in ashes."

This last shock was too much for his seventy-seven years, and, though he lived and labored five years longer, his firmness and vigor were failing him. His desire to be still writing and printing remained, stimulated by his printer; but his family thought he was wasting his strength and money.

¹ For this plate Swedenborg wrote an inscription:—

*Hæc erat in mediis facies illæsa favillis
Cum deflagravit, nocte fluente, domus;
Sic quoque post ignes, Genitor, tuæ famæ, supremos
Postque rogos, vivet nomen amorque tui.*

"Unharmed mid fiery ashes was this likeness found, when in the passing night the home was burned. So, too, O Father! after the flames and the funeral pile, thy good fame shall live and love for thee."

His son-in-law, Magister Unge, writes in 1731 to Emanuel, "Möller is now beginning to swindle the Bishop on a new account; for he desires to print the collection of sermons which was burned. . . . How will this end if he begin printing in his poverty? . . . What will this lead to? The Bishop plunges himself more and more into debt. He is now writing daily with great industry at the two other volumes of the collection of sermons, which was burned." In 1728 he had himself written to a friend, "If I had all the money which I have invested in the printing of books, I would be worth now from sixty to seventy thousand dalers in copper." Besides various religious works, he wrote and printed books on the Swedish language, grammar and lexicons, books for schools, a new translation of the Bible and a Swedish Commentary, *Pharos Sacra America Illuminata*, and other works. Much of his interest in writing and publishing had long been in behalf of the Swedish colonial missions, especially the mission of Pennsylvania and Delaware. It was by his influence with the King that the first missionaries were sent to this colony, and their interests looked after until the recognition of the independence of the United States. The colony elected Swedberg their first bishop, as did also the Swedish churches at London and Lisbon, and this appointment was confirmed by the King. To their concerns he devoted much time and labor, which they repaid with great respect and affection.

In recounting Bishop Swedberg's public labors first, we have followed his own example, making these duties always of the first importance. But at the same time he was eminently a family man, being the affectionate husband of three successive wives, and the loving father of five sons and four daughters, all children of his first wife. Of these, however, two sons died in childhood. Like his own father, Swedberg esteemed children as a blessing from the Lord, and thought that too much could not be done for them. "It is really the case," said he, "that you must never grudge expenses, if

you desire your children to grow up well." His great desire was that his own children should grow up in the fear and love of God. With this at heart, he gave them names that he trusted would be a help.

"I am fully convinced," he writes, "that children ought to be called such names as will awaken in them, and call to their minds, the fear of God and everything that is orderly and righteous. . . . The name of my son Emanuel signifies 'God with us ;' that he may always remember God's presence, and that intimate, holy, and mysterious conjunction with our good and gracious God, into which we are brought by faith, by which we are conjoined with Him and are in Him. And, blessed be the Lord's name ! God has to this hour been with him. And may He be further with him, until he be eternally united with Him in His kingdom ! Eliezer signifies 'God is my help ;' and he also has been graciously and joyfully helped by God. He was a good and pious child, and had made good progress, when, in his twenty-fifth year, he was called away by a blessed death. The youngest was called Jesper only for this reason, that he was born on the same day of the year and at the same hour as myself. . . . If the name Jesper be written Jisper, [in Hebrew] 'he will write,' the use has also followed the name ; for I believe that scarcely any one in Sweden has written so much as I have, since ten carts could scarcely carry away what I have written and printed at my own expense : and yet there is much, yea, nearly as much, unprinted. My son Jesper has also the same disposition, for he is fond of writing, and writes much. I am a Sunday child ; and the mother of my children, my late wife, was also a Sunday child, and all my children are Sunday children, except Catharina, who was born at Upsal on the third day of Easter. I have put my sons to that for which God has given them inclination and liking, and have not brought up any for the clerical profession ; although many parents do so inconsiderately, and in a manner not justifiable, by which God's Church and likewise the ministerial

office suffer not a little, and are brought into contempt. I have never had my daughters in Stockholm, where many are sent in order to learn fine manners, but where they also learn much that is worldly and injurious to the soul."

Of the mother of Jesper Swedberg we have little knowledge. Her name was Anna Bullernæsia, daughter of Magister Petrus Bullernæsius, pastor in Svärdsjö. She became the wife of Swedberg's father, Daniel Isaksson, about 1640. Her son Jesper said of her, "My mother was to me all that Monica was to Augustine." Of Swedberg's own wife, the mother of his children, we know little more. Her name was Sara Behm, of good family, the daughter of an Assessor in the College of Mines, the same office that was held so long by her son Emanuel. Her first husband was Dean of Upsal, and left her with wealth that was of great service to her later husband and children. She became the wife of Jesper Swedberg in 1683, when he was simply Magister Swedberg, still preaching in the prebend of his deceased friend Brunner. Her first child was born during her husband's absence on his travels, and she named him Albrecht, for her own father. He died in childhood.¹ The next child was Anna, born in 1686, who became the wife of Ericus Benzelius. To her Emanuel, the next younger, was always sending kindest greetings when writing to his brother-in-law. Emanuel was born on the 29th of January, 1688, while his father was serving as ordinary royal chaplain at Stockholm. After him were born in succession Hedwig, Daniel, Eliezer, Catharina, Jesper, and Margaretha. The last-named was born in October, 1695, and the good mother, of whom we know all too little, died in June, 1696, while the rector was building his large stone house at Upsal. Emanuel was then not nine years old, and his impressions of his mother have not come down to us.

In 1719 the family of Bishop Swedberg was ennobled by

¹ Albrecht died soon after his mother, in 1696. On his death-bed his father asked him what he should do in heaven. "I shall pray for my father and my brothers and sisters," was the reply, deeply affecting the father.

Queen Ulrica Eleonora, with the name of Swedenborg, and his son-in-law Benzelius with the name of Benzelstierna ; after which they were entitled to seats in the Diet. The Bishop himself retained the name of Swedberg, and died with it, 1735, in the eighty-second year of his life and the thirty-third year of his bishopric. Since the last fire his hand had trembled, so that he wrote with difficulty ; and during the last year his memory had failed. But his eyes were not dim to the day of his death. With wonderful industry and perseverance he had accomplished many undertakings, while others not less worthy—such as the Swedish translation of the Bible—had failed through the jealousy of others. Previous to his last fire he had written his autobiography for each of his children. One copy alone, of over a thousand pages, was preserved. This is still in existence, but has never been printed. The name that he has left behind him is that of “a man who, if he had lived a few hundred years earlier, might have increased the number of Swedish saints, and whose learning, industry, exemplary life, good intentions, and zeal for God’s glory deserve to be venerated even by a more enlightened century.” But of his real character it will be useful for us to take a closer view, in order to be prepared for what we shall discover in the inheritance of his son Emanuel.

There can be no mistake in attributing to Bishop Swedberg great energy of character, honesty of purpose, bold frankness of expression, hereditary and early-acquired piety, and kind love for his fellow-men. His long life was spent in hard, enterprising labor, with no obvious selfish interest, but for the good of mankind. And withal he was constantly acknowledging God as the source of all blessings, and the permitter of all punishment. All the misfortunes that come to him, he confesses to be deserved recompense for his sins ; for all the good he accomplishes he returns thanks to God. His confidence in the presence of spirits and angels, as well as in the Providence of God, was remarkable, and sometimes bordering on

credulity. In his first year at the university "he had such a wonderful dream that he did not know whether he ought not to call it a revelation. 'No human tongue can pronounce, and no angel can describe, what I then saw and heard.'" When he first began to preach, he and all in the village heard in the church towards evening loud voices, singing hymns.¹ From that time he felt profound veneration for holy worship, convinced that "God's angels are especially present in this sacred office." "God preserved me," he says, "during the whole of my student life from bad company. My company and my greatest delight were God's holy men who wrote the Bible, and the many other men who have made themselves well-esteemed in God's Church, and whose names are far-spread in the learned world. God's angel stood by me and said, 'What do you read?' I answered, 'I read the Bible, Sriver, Lütkehan, John Arndt, Kortholt, Grossgebaur, J. Schmidt, and others.' The angel said further, 'Do you understand what you read in the Bible?' I answered, 'How can I understand, when there is no one to explain it to me?'"² The angel then said, 'Procure for yourself Geier, J. and S. Schmidt, Dieterich, Tarnow, Gerhardi, and Crell's *Biblical Concordance*.' I said, 'A part of these books I have; the rest I will provide myself with.' The angel further said, 'Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.' I sobbed, 'Oh, grant us, God'" — a stanza of a Swedish hymn. "And thus he departed from me, after he had blessed me and I had thanked him most humbly."

It is of great interest to note this readiness on the part of Swedberg to receive spiritual instruction; and this very vision, dream, or impression, whichever we regard it, suggests remark-

¹ Swedberg was fond of music. "By the whispering of the leaves in the forest and the noise of mill-wheels in the brook, he was reminded of the 'heavenly music,' the fundamental tone of which he found struck in the Book of Revelation. Every evening, usually, his good friend Dr. Hesselius came, and played hymns to him on his violoncello."

² Acts viii. 30, 31.

ably the experience that was to come to his son. It is as if heaven were teeming with the instruction the Lord was about to give to men, and angels were seeking the mind fitted to receive it: nay, more, as if Swedberg himself had some of the elements of preparation. And what did he lack? Much, we shall find when we bring into comparison the breadth and depth of intellectual grasp that was given to his son. Much, very much, we shall see when we set beside his self-complacent, impulsive spirit the self-abnegated, divine spirit that shone through his son after his vastation, in the period of his illumination. We need not inquire why this change of spirit might not have been granted to the father. Enough, that the time was not yet fully come. It is easy to recognize in Bishop Swedberg a large measure of the simple Christian goodness,—love for the Lord and for doing good works to the neighbor,—which was taught by John the Baptist, and again was typified by John the Evangelist, and was to remain on earth to receive the Lord at His Second Coming. But we cannot fail to see also in him, and strongly marked, the fault of the first Christian Church from its beginning,—the desire to merit a high place in heaven by good deeds. Witness what his biographer, himself a rejector of Swedenborg's revelations, calls Swedberg's "sublime words." "At least," said he, after speaking of his persecutions by the clergy, "I know that my angel has received a command from God to have in readiness a crown, which he will place on my head when I depart hence and enter into God's kingdom. Meanwhile I shall sit down in my honorable place with greater courage, joy, and renown if possible than before."

CHAPTER III.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.—STUDIES ABROAD.—DÆDALUS.

SUCH was the parentage of Emanuel Swedenborg ; but in its happiest mood, to judge from the name his father gave him, and his reasons for giving it. The words will bear to be read again and well pondered. "The name of my son Emanuel signifies God-with-us ; that he may always remember God's presence, and that intimate, holy, and mysterious conjunction with our good and gracious God into which we are brought by faith, by which we are conjoined with Him and are in Him. And, blessed be the Lord's name ! God has to this hour been with him. And may He be further with him, until he be eternally united with Him in His kingdom !" God-given wish in the father's heart, that was to be fulfilled of God in the son ! It links them together ; the father shares the son's labor and grace.

In what ways the father's heart was gladdened, is partly explained in the following reply of Swedenborg to his friend Dr. Beyer, who had asked him for some particulars of his early life : "From my fourth to my tenth year I was constantly engaged in thought upon God, salvation, and the spiritual experiences of men ; and several times I revealed things at which my father and mother wondered, saying that angels must be speaking through me. From my sixth to my twelfth year I used to delight in conversing with clergymen about faith, saying that the life of faith is love, and that the love which imparts life is love to the neighbor : also that God gives faith to every one, but that those only receive it who practise that love. I knew of no other faith at that time than

that God is the Creator and Preserver of nature, that He imparts understanding and a good disposition to men, and various other things that follow. I knew nothing then of that learned faith which teaches that God the Father imputes the righteousness of His Son to whomsoever and at what times He chooses, even to those who have not repented and have not reformed their lives. And had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then, as it is now, above my comprehension." No doubt this description of his early faith mirrors, with perhaps an added light of its own, his father's teaching, and shows that the simple apostolic faith manifested in a good life was the faith the good Bishop preached.

Strangely enough, we know nothing of the manner of Emanuel's early education. Born in the city of Stockholm, Jan. 29, 1688, taken to Vingåker at four years of age, and the same year to Upsal on his father's removal thither, he must have received at Upsal all his schooling. He was fifteen years old when his father removed to Brunsbo; and as his sister and playmate Anna, sixteen months older, was married the same year and settled at Upsal, we may conclude that it was at this time Emanuel became a member of her family; for he must now have well entered upon his academical studies. In 1709 he received his degree of doctor of philosophy, and with the consent of the Faculty he prints, with an affectionate dedication to his father, his academical thesis just read in the university hall at Upsal. In this thesis we find little attempt at display. It was a solid collection of selected sentences from Latin and Greek authors, mostly from Seneca, with some from Holy Writ, arranged to set forth certain moral and religious sentiments, and accompanied with apposite reflections. So far, we should say, the religious bent of the child still rules the young man.

The same year, the Bishop published a Swedish poetical paraphrase of the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, with comments, and with the same rendered into Latin verse by his son Emanuel. This taste and facility for Latin verse, proba-

bly acquired at the university, is not left behind with the college halls, but becomes the young man's recreation in the interval of severer studies for some years after graduation.

When his course was finished at the university, he appears to have gone to his father's home at Brunsbo. But in July he wrote, asking the aid of Benzelius to start him on his travels, then an essential part of a young man's education. He asked, in particular, letters to some one in an English college, in order that he might improve himself in mathematics, or in physics and natural history. "As I have always desired," he said, "to turn to some practical use, and also to perfect myself more in, the studies which I selected with your advice and approval, I thought it advisable to choose a subject early which I might elaborate in course of time, and into which I might introduce much of what I should notice and read in foreign countries. This course I have always pursued hitherto in my reading; and now, at my departure, I propose to myself, as far as concerns mathematics, gradually to gather and work up a certain collection, namely, of things discovered and to be discovered in mathematics,—or, what is nearly the same thing, the progress made in mathematics during the last one or two centuries." "Much kind love" he sends to his sister Anna.

Never idle, he adds by the bye that, since leaving Upsal, he has acquired the manual art of bookbinding. In March of the next year, his travels having been delayed, he writes that he has made such progress in music as occasionally to take the organist's place at church.

In 1710, the necessary royal permission having been obtained by the solicitation of his father, Emanuel at last set out on his travels in pursuit of his education, though not without further hindrance on the way. We find in his Itinerary,—

"I travelled to Gottenburg, and thence by ship to London. On the way to London I was four times in danger of my life. First, from a sand-bank on the English coast in a dense fog,

when all considered themselves lost, the keel of the vessel being within a quarter of a fathom of the bank. Second, from the crew of a privateer, who came on board declaring themselves to be French, while we thought they were Danes. Third, from an English guardship on the following evening, which on the strength of a report mistook us in the darkness for the privateer, and fired a whole broadside into us, but without doing us any serious damage. Fourth, in London I was soon after exposed to a still greater danger; for some Swedes, who had approached our ship in a yacht, persuaded me to sail with them to town, when all on board had been ordered to remain there for six weeks, the news having already spread that the plague had broken out in Sweden. As I did not observe the quarantine, an inquiry was made; yet I was saved from the halter,—with the declaration, however, that no one who ventured to do this in future would escape his doom.”

In October, 1710, he writes to Benzelius,—

“This island has also men of the greatest experience in this [mathematical] science; but these I have not yet consulted, because I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with their language. I study Newton daily, and I am very anxious to see and hear him. I have provided myself with a small stock of books for the study of mathematics, and also with a certain number of instruments. . . . The magnificent St. Paul’s Cathedral was finished a few days ago in all its parts. . . . The town is distracted by internal dissensions between the Anglican and Presbyterian churches; they are incensed against each other with almost deadly hatred. . . . Were you, dear brother, to ask me about myself, I should say I know that I am alive, but not happy; for I miss you and my home. . . . I not only love you more than my own brothers, but I even love and revere you as a father. . . . May God preserve you alive, that I may meet you again!”

It was in the middle of the reign of Queen Anne. Handel arrived from Italy the same year, to find an atmosphere

in which his oratorio of the *Messiah* could be conceived and born into the world. Pope, a few months younger than Swedenborg, was just issuing his *Essay on Criticism*. Addison and Steele were publishing the *Tatler*, soon to be followed by the *Spectator*. Dr. Isaac Watts was preaching kindly sermons in Mark Lane ; and Sir Christopher Wren was putting the finishing touches to the Cathedral of St. Paul.

In April, 1711, Swedenborg writes from London, delighted to execute the commission of Benzelius for the purchase of a telescope twenty-four feet in length, a microscope, and sundry books. "I visit daily," he says, "the best mathematicians here in town. I have been with Flamsteed, who is considered the best astronomer in England, and who is constantly taking observations, which, together with the Paris observations, will give us some day a correct theory respecting the motion of the moon and of its appulse to the fixed stars. . . . Newton has laid a good foundation for correcting the irregularities of the moon, in his *Principia*. . . . You encourage me to go on with my studies ; but I think that I ought rather to be discouraged, as I have such an 'immoderate desire'¹ for them, especially for astronomy and mechanics. I also turn my lodgings to some use, and change them often. At first I was at a watchmaker's, afterwards at a cabinetmaker's, and now I am at a mathematical-instrument maker's. From them I steal their trades, which some day will be of use to me. I have recently computed for my own pleasure several useful tables for the latitude of Upsal, and all the solar and lunar eclipses which will take place between 1712 and 1721. . . . In undertaking in astronomy to facilitate the calculation of eclipses, and of the motion of the moon outside that of the syzygies, and also in undertaking to correct the tables so as to agree with the new observations, I shall have enough to do. . . . Grabe's Septuagint was recently published. . . . He was here for some time, but he had to change his lodgings every week ; he was so over-run by visitors. . . . I have

¹ He uses these English words.

much to tell about events among the learned, but I have neither time nor paper."

A long letter in January, 1712, answers various questions on scientific matters, received from Benzelius and the Literary Society of Upsal. Among other things he wanted to send home some English globes ; but mounted, they were very dear, as well as expensive to transport, and he had tried to procure the paper sheets to be set up at home. These the makers would not sell, lest they should be copied. Characteristically, Swedenborg sets to work learning to engrave on copper, and then draws and engraves the plates for a pair of globes of ordinary size. He sends at this time a specimen of his engraving, and remarks that he has learned so much from his landlord in the art of making brass instruments, that he has already made several for his own use, and that if he were in Sweden he would not need to apply to any one to make the meridians for the globe and its other appurtenances. Of his studies he says,—

"With regard to astronomy I have made such progress in it as to have discovered much which I think will be useful in its study. Although in the beginning it made my brain ache, yet long speculations are now no longer difficult for me. I examined closely all propositions for finding the terrestrial longitude, but could not find a single one ; I have therefore originated a method by means of the moon, which is unerring, and I am certain that it is the best which has yet been advanced. In a short time I will inform the Royal Society that I have a proposition to make on this subject, stating my points. If it is favorably received by these gentlemen, I shall publish it here ; if not, in France. I have also discovered many new methods for observing the planets, the moon, and the stars ; that which concerns the moon and its parallaxes, diameter, and inequality, I will publish whenever an opportunity arises. I am now busy working my way through algebra and the higher geometry, and I intend to make such progress in it as to be able, in time, to continue Polhammar's discov-

eries. . . . When the plates for the globes arrive in Sweden, Professor Elfvius will perhaps take care to have them printed and made up. I shall send a specimen very soon ; but no impression is to be sold." In this same letter he mentions valuable English books, and names all the principal poets as well worth reading for the sake of their imagination alone. In mild terms he complains of his father's not supplying him better with money ; and we find the complaint quite pardonable when we remember that the father was borrowing his children's inheritance from their mother for his own enterprises, and when we learn that Emanuel had received from him but two hundred rixdalers (about two hundred, and twenty-five dollars) in sixteen months. He says it is hard to live without food or drink.

Writing again to Benzelius, August, 1712, he repeats his confidence in his new method of finding the longitude, which Dr. Halley admitted to him orally was the only good method that had been proposed. "But," he adds, "as I have not met with great encouragement here in England, among this civil and proud people, I have laid it aside for some other place. When I tell them that I have some project about longitude, they treat it as an impossibility ; and so I do not wish to discuss it here. . . . As my speculations made me for a time not so sociable as is serviceable and useful for me, and as my spirits are somewhat exhausted, I have taken refuge for a short time in the study of poetry, that I might be somewhat recreated by it. I intend to gain a little reputation by this study, on some occasion or other, during this year, and I hope I may have advanced in it as much as may be expected from me,—but time and others will perhaps judge of this. Still, after a time, I intend to take up mathematics again, although at present I am doing nothing in them ; and if I am encouraged, I intend to make more discoveries in them than any one else in the present age. But without encouragement this would be sheer trouble, and it would be like *non profecturis litorea bubus arare*,—ploughing the ground with stubborn steers.

. . . Within three or four months I hope, with God's help, to be in France ; for I greatly desire to understand its fashionable and useful language. I hope by that time to have, or to find there, letters from you to some of your learned correspondents. . . . Your great kindness and your favor, of which I have had so many proofs, make me believe that your advice and your letters will induce my father to be so favorable towards me as to send me the funds which are necessary for a young man, and which will infuse into me new spirit for the prosecution of my studies. Believe me, I desire and strive to be an honor to my father's house and yours, much more strongly than you yourself can wish and endeavor. . . . I would have bought the microscope, if the price had not been so much higher than I could venture to pay before receiving your orders. This microscope was one which Mr. Marshall showed to me especially ; it is quite new, of his own invention, and shows the motion in fishes very vividly. There was a glass with a candle placed under it, which made the thing itself, and the object, much brighter ; so that any one could see the blood in the fishes flowing swiftly, like small rivulets ; for it flowed in that way, and as rapidly. At a watchmaker's I saw a curiosity which I cannot forbear mentioning. It was a clock which was still, without any motion. On the top of it was a candle, and when this was lighted, the clock began to go and to keep its true time ; but as soon as the candle was blown out, the motion ceased, and so on. . . . He told me that nobody had as yet found out how it could be set in motion by the candle. Please remember me kindly to sister Anna, my dear sister Hedvig, and also to brother Ericus Benzel, the little one, about whose state of health I always desire to hear."

The next letter that has come down to us was dated Paris, August, 1713. Meanwhile Swedenborg had left London and made a considerable stay in Holland. "I left Holland," he says, "intending to make greater progress in mathematics, and also to finish all I had designed in that science. Since

my arrival here I have been hindered in my work by an illness which lasted six weeks, and which interfered with my studies and other useful employments ; but I have at last recovered, and am beginning to make the acquaintance of the most learned men in this place. I have called upon, and made the acquaintance of, De La Hire, who is now a great astronomer, and who was formerly a well-known geometrician. I have also been frequently with Warrignon, who is the greatest geometrician and algebraist in this city, and perhaps the greatest in Europe. About eight days ago I called upon Abbé Bignon, and presented your compliments, on the strength of which I was very favorably received by him. I submitted to him for examination, and for introduction into the Society, three discoveries, two of which were in algebra. [The third was his new method of finding longitude.] . . . Here in town I avoid conversation with Swedes, and shun all those by whom I might be in the least interrupted in my studies. What I hear from the learned, I note down at once in my journal ; it would be too long to copy it out and to communicate it to you. . . . During my stay in Holland I was most of the time in Utrecht, where the Diet [Congress¹] met, and where I was in great favor with Ambassador Palmquist, who had me every day at his house ; every day also I had discussions on algebra with him. He is a good mathematician and a great algebraist. . . . In Leyden I learned glass-grinding [for telescopes], and I have now all the instruments and utensils belonging to it. . . . You may rest assured that I entertain the greatest friendship and veneration for you ; I hope, therefore, that you will not be displeased with me on account of my silence, and my delay in writing letters, if you hear that I am always intent on my studies, so that sometimes I omit more important matters."

Swedenborg's stay in Paris seems to have been less than a year, and here seems to end his aspiration for eminence in

¹ The famous Congress of Ambassadors, by which the Spanish Succession was ended and peace secured for a generation.

pure mathematics. Perhaps he did not find in them the encouragement he hoped. For whatever reason, from this time he began to devote his attention to mechanical and practical investigations. Going from Paris by way of Hamburg to Rostock, in the north of Mecklenburg, he writes from there to Benzelius, Sept. 8, 1714,—

“I am very glad that I have come to a place where I have time and leisure to gather up all my works and thoughts, which have hitherto been without any order, and are scattered here and there upon scraps of paper. I have always been in want of a place and time to collect them. I have now commenced this labor, and shall soon get it done. I promised my dear father to publish an academical thesis, for which I shall select some inventions in mechanics which I have at hand. Further, I have the following mechanical inventions either in hand or fully written out, namely,—

“1. The plan of a certain ship, which, with its men, can go under the surface of the sea, wherever it chooses, and do great damage to the fleet of the enemy.

“2. A new plan for a siphon, by which a large quantity of water may be raised from any river to a higher locality in a short time.

“3. For lifting weights by the aid of water and this portable siphon, with greater facility than by mechanical powers.

“4. For constructing sluices in places where there is no fall of water, by means of which entire ships, with their cargoes, may be raised to any required height within an hour or two.

“5. A machine driven by fire, for throwing out water ; and a method of constructing it near forges, where the water has no fall, but is tranquil.

“6. A draw-bridge, which may be closed and opened within the gates and walls.

“7. New machines for condensing and exhausting air by means of water. Also a new pump acting by water and mercury, without any siphon ; which presents more advantages and works more easily than the common pumps. I have also, besides these, other new plans for pumps.

"8. A new construction of air-guns, thousands of which may be discharged in a moment by means of one siphon.

"9. A universal musical instrument, by means of which one who is quite unacquainted with music may execute all kinds of airs that are marked on paper by notes.

"10. *Sciagraphia universalis*. The universal art of delineating shades, or a mechanical method of delineating engravings of any kind, upon any surface, by means of fire.

"11. A water-clock, in which water serves the purpose of an index, and in which, by the flow of water, all the movable bodies in the heavens are demonstrated, with other curious effects.

"12. A mechanical carriage containing all sorts of works, which are set in motion by the movement of the horses. Also a flying carriage, or the possibility of remaining suspended in the air, and of being conveyed through it.

"13. A method of ascertaining the desires and the affections of the minds of men by analysis.

"14. New methods of constructing cords and springs, with their properties.

"These are my mechanical inventions which were heretofore lying scattered on pieces of paper, but nearly all of which are now brought into order, so that, when opportunity offers, they may be published. To all these there is added an algebraic and a numerical calculation, from which the proportions, motion, times, and all the properties which they ought to possess are deduced. Moreover, all those things which I have in analysis and astronomy require each its own place and its own time. Oh, how I wish, my beloved friend and brother, that I could submit all these to your own eyes, and to those of Professor Elfvius! But as I cannot show you the actual machines, I will at least, in a short time, forward you the drawings, with which I am daily occupied. I have now time also to bring my poetical efforts into order. They are only a kind of fables, like those of Ovid, under cover of which those events are treated which have happened in Europe

within the last fourteen or fifteen years ; so that in this manner I am allowed to sport with serious things, and to play with the heroes and the great men of our country. But meanwhile I am affected with a certain sense of shame, when I reflect that I have said so much about my plans and ideas, and have not yet exhibited anything : my journey and its inconveniences have been the cause of this. I have now a great desire to return home to Sweden, and to take in hand all Polhammar's inventions, make drawings, and furnish descriptions of them ; and also to test them by physics, mechanics, hydrostatics, and hydraulics, and likewise by algebraic calculus. I should prefer to publish them in Sweden rather than in any other place, and in this manner to make a beginning among us of a Society for Learning and Science, for which we have such an excellent foundation in Polhammar's inventions. I wish mine could serve the same purpose. . . . A thousand remembrances to my sister Anna. I hope she is not alarmed at the approach of the Russians.¹ I have a great longing to see little brother [nephew] Eric again ; perhaps he will be able to make a triangle, or to draw one for me, when I give him a little ruler."

Our next date is at Greifswalde, in Pomerania, April, 1715, where Swedenborg spent some months on his mathematical and mechanical studies, "relieved with poetry ;" for there he printed his Latin fables, described in the last letter. The long dalliance of Charles XII. in Turkey, after his defeat in the heart of Russia, had come to an end. Disappointed in his hopes of the Sultan's assistance against Peter the Great, he had listened to the prayers of his subjects for his return,—prayers that Swedenborg expressed in Latin verse :—

"CAROLE ! spes Svionum ! Te Musæ et Sceptra reposcunt,
Hac resonant aræ, pulpita, templa prece."²

From an English paraphrase of this ode, which we find in

¹ Who, in Charles's absence, were advancing to join the Danes and to recover lost ground.

² *Carmina Miscellanea*, p. 5.

Dr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson's biography of Swedenborg, credited to Francis Barham, we copy the concluding lines : —

"Ah, soon return,—oh, monarch of our love !
 Oh, Sun of Sweden, waste not all thy light
 To illumine the crescent of the Ottomans !
 Thine absence we bewail, wandering in glooms
 Of midnight sorrow—save that these bright stars
 That lead us on to victory, still console
 Thy people's hearts, and bid them not despair."

"Charles," says Carlyle, "ended this obstinate torpor at last ; broke out of Turkish Bender, or Demotica. With a groom or two, through desolate steppes and mountain wildernesses, through crowded dangerous cities, he rode without pause forward, ever forward, in darkest incognito, the indefatigable man ; and finally on Old Hallowmas Eve (1714), far in the night, a horseman, with two others still following him, travel-splashed, and white with snow, drew bridle at the gate of Stralsund, and to the surprise of the Swedish sentinel there demanded instant admission to the Governor. The Governor, at first a little surly of humor, saw gradually how it was ; sprang out of bed and embraced the knees of the snowy man. Stralsund in general sprang out of bed, and illuminated itself, that same Hallow-Eve ; and, in brief, Charles XII., after five years of eclipse, has reappeared upon the stage of things, and menaces the world, in his old fashion, from that city."

From the neighborhood of Stralsund, where, soon after, Charles was besieged by the Russians and Danes, Swedenborg escaped just in time, and through the midst of enemies arrived home in safety about midsummer. Welcomed to Brunsbo, his father's episcopal seat, the Bishop addresses a petition in his behalf to the Lord-Lieutenant : —

"BRUNSBO, 12th July, 1715.

"*May it please your Excellency*,—My son Emanuel, after five years' foreign travel, has at length returned home. I hope he may be found available for some Academy. He is accomplished in Oriental languages, as well as European, but especially he is an adept in poetry

and mathematics. . . . If there should be an opening at an Academy here in Sweden, will your Excellency be so kind as advance him to fill it? With God's help he will honor his place.

“JESPER SWEDBERG.”

Meanwhile Swedenborg made preparations for his projected magazine of scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions. On the 9th of August he writes to Benzelius,—

“*Most honored friend and brother*,—As I presume you have now returned from the Springs to Upsal, I hope that this letter may find you in good condition and with renewed health, at which I should rejoice more than any one else. I received lately a very nice little Latin letter from brother Ericulus, at which I was very much pleased and gratified. I answered it in some extemporaneous Latin verses, in which I wished him every kind of happiness and success, both in his studies and in everything else that may be agreeable to his parents and to himself.

“I looked very carefully for the machines which I some time ago sent to my father; they were eight in number, but I was unable to discover the place in which he had laid them aside. He thinks they have been sent to you, which I hope with all my heart; for it cost me a great amount of work to put them on paper, and I shall not have any time during the next winter to do this over again. There were, First, three drawings and plans for water-pumps, by which a large quantity of water can be raised in a short time from any sea or lake you choose. Second, two machines for raising weights by means of water, as easily and quickly as is done by mechanical forces. Third, some kinds of sluices, which can be constructed where there is no fall of water, and which will raise boats over hills, sand-banks, etc. Fourth, a machine to discharge by air ten or eleven thousand shots per hour. All these machines are carefully described and calculated algebraically. I had further intended to communicate plans of some kinds of vessels and boats, in which persons may go under water whenever they choose; also a machine for build-

ing at pleasure a blast furnace near any still water, where the wheel will nevertheless revolve by means of the fire, which will put the water in motion ; likewise some kinds of air-guns that are loaded in a moment, and discharge sixty or seventy shots in succession without any fresh charge. Towards winter, perhaps, I shall draw and describe these machines. I should like to have the opportunity and the means of setting one or other of them up and getting it to work.

“The day after to-morrow I will travel to the Kinnekulle,¹ to select a spot for a small observatory, where I intend, towards winter, to make some observations respecting our horizon, and to lay a foundation for those observations by which my invention on the longitude of places may be confirmed : perhaps I may then travel in all haste first to Upsal, to get some things I need for it.

“Please let me know whether Professor Upmark has yet obtained his appointment. If there is anything in which I can be of use to you again, I wish you would inform me of it. Will you be so good as to recommend me to any of the professors for any opening that may present itself? The rest I shall myself see to. By the next opportunity I will send you something which I saw through the press before returning home : it is an oration on the King’s return, and also some fables like those of Ovid, which I have called *Camena Borea*, and have dedicated to Cronhjelm. I am waiting impatiently for your oration, about which you said a few words in your last letter. Remember me a thousand times to Anna. Whatever additional success I may have in my designs, I will first communicate to you. I wish you would allow me to do so. Meanwhile I live in the hope of being allowed to remain, most learned friend and brother, your most obedient brother and servant,

“EMAN. SWEDBERG.”

On the 21st of November, he writes to the same friend from Stockholm,—

¹ A fine mountain near Lake Wetter, over nine hundred feet above the sea.

"Most honored friend and brother, — According to promise I send these lines in the greatest haste to the post-office, thanking you first and foremost for the great kindness shown to me at Upsal. My highest wish is to find an opportunity by which I can repay it in some way or other. I only came here to-day. I could easily have arrived yesterday, had it not been for the darkness, and for the uncertainty of finding quarters for one in a blue dress.

"The Queen-dowager is still living ; she is better to-day. . . . We have heard both the best and the worst news ; only it has here and there been exaggerated and colored. Most people know nothing certain about the King's person. Some shut him up in Stralsund, and give him no means of escape ; others vainly rejoice at his return, and expect him late this evening : carriages are in readiness at the Court to go to meet him. It is generally believed, however, that he has made his escape ; that, after his horse had been shot under him, he ran two thousand paces on foot before he could procure another charger. This would again redound to his glory, as the Dutch say that the Swede would be the best soldier in the world, if he knew when to run away.

"Brother Gustav sends his love, and apologizes for not having written. With a hundred thousand kind remembrances to sister Anna, I remain, most honored brother, your most faithful brother and friend,

"EMAN. SWEDBERG."

The Queen-dowager, Hedwig Eleonora, died three days after the date of this letter, in her eightieth year, deeply grieved at the unhappy fate of her Sweden, and in great anxiety for her grandson, Charles XII. She had survived both her son, Charles XI., who died in 1697, and his Queen, Ulrica Eleonora, who died in 1693. Gustav was Benzeliuss's brother.

Early in December, Emanuel writes again to his friend and brother, from Stockholm,—

"My literary occupations engage me every day. . . . With

regard to the dedication I must obey you,¹ . . . although I can flatter myself with only a small prospect of recompense from it. . . . But, my dear brother, a single word from you to my father about me will be worth more than twenty thousand remonstrances from me. You can without any comment inform him of my enterprise, of my zeal in my studies ; and that he need not imagine that in future I shall waste my time, and, at the same time, his money. . . . I will take care of the shoes for brother Eric, and we will also take care of the dress. But the dyers have their hands full ; the shops here are all changed into black chambers, to make the goods appear still more dreary, and everything that has been red or gay has assumed now the color of mourning. This is the reason why my sister's dress cannot be dyed black. . . .

"The news that are reported here arrived from Stralsund this morning,—

"1. That the royal government office, with all its employés, has embarked for Sweden. *There was probably a place left in the vessel for the King.*

"2. That Stralsund has been reduced to ashes, and has become its own grave, and that of many officers. . . .

"Pardon, my dear brother, that I write to you in French. But the language in which you think usually suits you best. My thoughts at present move in this language ; but whenever Cicero shall again engage me, I shall endeavor to address you like a Ciceronian."

The mourning in Stockholm was for the Queen. A fortnight after her death, Charles XII., after boldly defending himself in Stralsund, escaped in a small boat on the town's surrender, was picked up by a Swedish vessel, and landed in Sweden on the 13th of December.

The interest that Polhammar took in young Swedberg's projected magazine is shown in the following notes :—

¹ Benzelius desired him to dedicate his new magazine, *Dædalus Hyperboreus*, to Charles XII. The *Dædalus* was a quaint little pamphlet, in Swedish, square in form, with copper-plate engravings at the end.

TO EMANUEL SWEDBERG.

"STIERNSUND, December 7, 1715.

"*Noble and most learned Sir: Most honored friend,*—With peculiar joy and delight I have heard of your praiseworthy intention to publish, under your own care and at your own expense, the interesting and useful information in physical mathematics and mechanics which has been collected by the *Collegium curiosorum* at Upsal, and by yourself. . . .

"I read with great pleasure the description of the ear-trumpet; and I see from it that you are a ready mathematician, and well qualified for doing this and similar achievements. . . .

"Your most obedient servant,

"CHRISTOPH POLHAMMAR."

TO ERICUS BENZELIUS.

"STIERNSUND, December 10, 1715.

"*Most worthy and most learned Librarian: Most respected friend,*—I thank you most humbly for your kind letter, which arrived by the last post; it was the more welcome, as it was some time since I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you. I find that young Swedberg is a ready mathematician, and possesses much aptitude for the mechanical sciences; and, if he continues as he has begun, he will in course of time be able to be of greater use to the King and to his country in this than in anything else. . . .

"If I can be of use in any way to Mr. Swedberg, I will be so with the greater pleasure, because I may thereby do some good and acquire some honor for our country,—for it would be a matter of rejoicing if some young and zealous natures could be found, which are not so much engrossed and taken up with the present condition of things, as to allow themselves to be withdrawn thereby from interesting and at the same time useful designs and studies. I read through Mr. Swedberg's first draught of the ear-trumpet; but I did so while engaged upon and hindered by other matters, so that I had not time to examine it as carefully as I could have wished; but I have no doubt it is correct in all its parts. It would be my greatest delight and pleasure if he could confer with me personally about these things; he would be always welcome at my house. With many friendly remembrances, most worthy Librarian, I am your most obedient servant,

"CHRISTOPH POLHAMMAR."

TO EMANUEL SWEDBERG.

"STIERNSUND, December 19, 1715.

"*Noble and most learned Sir: Most honored friend,*—The copper-plate which you desire is entirely at your service. . . . But if you

wish to apply yourself diligently to the study of mechanics, I should very much like, if you are willing, that you would put up with my small accommodation, and more frequently confer orally with me; from which, I have no doubt, both of us would derive satisfaction. For although I am well aware that the present hard times, and the few days I have still to live, will prevent the execution of my designs, I nevertheless experience both pleasure and delight in discoursing upon them with one who is interested in them. . . .

"With many kind remembrances I remain, most learned Sir, your most obedient servant,

"CHRISTOPH POLHAMMAR."

By the next February Swedenborg sends to Benzelius manuscript for the second part of the magazine, with several drawings of which he wishes that engravings may be made, hoping that the printing may be done and that he may receive a few copies to take with him to Court, then at Ystad. Among other things he mentions a project to get a Faculty of Mechanics established at the University. The same idea is elaborated more fully in another letter, of March 4th, with which he sends for the printer a small work on mathematics by Polhammar. It appears that in such a professorship he would have found at this time all he desired. More in joke than in earnest, he proposes that the present Faculty should relinquish one seventh of their salaries for the new appointment. Probably his serious brother-in-law, himself one of the Faculty, did not appreciate the joke; for about the 20th of March Swedenborg writes to him,—

"I was very glad to hear your opinion and ideas upon my proposition. I have never been, and I never will be, so forgetful of myself and of my standing at Upsal as to expect that the professors would support me to their own prejudice; but I thought that by such a desperate and execrable proposition I should compel your prudence and your imagination to discover something better for me; the whole of it was conceived merely as a joke, and this can very easily be mended *en disant la vérité*. . . . Still it would be very desirable that such a Faculty should be established; and if it is not practi-

cable now, and we have to wait, it could be done with the greatest ease by dispensing with some of the professorships which are least necessary. . . . But as it would probably take from six to ten years before this could be carried out, it would be well if meanwhile some other arrangement could be made ; and this your prudence will be best able to find out."

Benzelius, on the 2d of April, announces the completion of the *Dædalus*, part second, and adds,—

"With regard to the salary of a Professor of Mechanics, I know nothing better than that Mr. Polhammar be made an ordinary assessor of the College of Commerce ; that you be made director in his place ; that the mechanical laboratory be removed here to Upsal, and that the director's rank be made the same as that of the professors. The rest is in my opinion a mere chimera. For the ordinary professor of geometry is obliged to lecture on mechanics, and he has also done so. Further, when the ordinary professorships were appointed, a fine of ten thousand dalers in silver was imposed by his Majesty upon any one who desired a change."

To this Swedenborg answers immediately : First, that no vacancy exists in the College of Commerce. Second, that it might happen, with such a change in the directorship, that Polhammar would resign his office ; that he himself cannot say a word on the subject, lest it seem to be unfriendly ; but if by any means the assent of Polhammar should be obtained, he would make every exertion to secure the position. In the same letter he states that he has completed the manuscript for the next number of the *Dædalus*, and that he has a little poetical work in the press, *Ludus Heliconius*, a collection of Latin poems written in various places. He remains at Brunsbo till some opening appears, in order to be nearer at hand to advocate his *Dædalus* with the King.

Every letter at this period is loaded with directions about the printing, the engraving, etc., of the *Dædalus*. Now and then occurs a mournful remark about the condition of the

country, Charles XII. straining every nerve and exhausting the life-blood of the nation for his ambitious wars. "It seems to me," he writes, "that Sweden is now prostrated, and that soon she will be in her last agony, when she will probably kick for the last time. Many perhaps wish that the affliction may be short, and that we may be released."

This is written in June, 1716. The letter concludes: "Sister Caisa [Catherina] has increased the world and our family; she has had a little daughter, at whose baptism I was a witness the day before yesterday. A thousand kind remembrances to sister Anna and little brother Eric."

Emanuel Swedberg's association with Polhammar grew more intimate, with his publication of the latter's inventions and scientific speculations, together with his own. On the 26th of June, 1716, he writes to his brother Benzelius,—

"I am engaged on the subject which I intend for the last number of this year, and which I shall finish this week, namely, Polhammar's ideas upon the resistance of mediums, which at first were written down in Latin, and which have cost me a great deal of labor and mental exertion to reduce into such a form as will please the Assessor and the learned; likewise my method of finding the longitude of places, which I warrant to be certain and sure,—I must hear what the learned say about it."

On the 4th of September he writes again to the same,—

"I am very glad that *Dædalus*, part iii., has appeared. I thank you for having taken so much trouble and care with it: when I am present with you, I will thank you still more. I am already thinking of the contents of part v. of the *Dædalus*. I think it will be best for me, first, to put down Assessor Polhammar's ingenious tap, with a sufficient mechanical and algebraical description; second, to make an addition to the description of his 'Blankstötz' machine, as this is a work which requires greater accuracy, reflection, and consideration than it has yet received; third, to leave room for some of the eclipses observed by Professor Elfvius, by which the

longitude of Upsal is also obtained. If you would honor our little work with a life of Stiernhjelm, or with something else from the history of the learned, I know that thereby our publication would become more interesting; as in this case the heavy matter would be relieved by more pleasant subjects. I know also that this would gain us the favor and approbation of many, as the literary world acknowledges you as by far its best member; I hope, therefore, that this honor will not be refused. May God grant you a long life, although I am afraid that your many studies will deprive us of this benefit, by shortening your days: for I know no one who has more consideration for his various studies, and less for himself. All the learned and the Muses entreat you to spare yourself, and in you the Muses: it is worthy of all praise, indeed, to offer up one's self to the Muses, but not on the very altar; it is easy enough to become a premature victim. Pardon this admonition, my brother; your letter to my father is the cause of it. I hope that my little learning and my *Dædalus* will be long under your auspices. I think of inserting in the fourth number some Dædalian speculations about a flying machine, and to leave room for Dr. Bromell's curiosities, if he be pleased to insert them. Assessor Polhammar writes that in the following number he wishes to insert such matter as will be of use to the public,—such as water and wind machines, mills, etc.,—which I am very glad of. But let us quit these literary topics. Last Thursday night his Majesty travelled incognito through Skara and Skarke to Hjo, where he crossed over Lake Wetter to Wadstena, to call on the Princess. We had the lad with us who was his outrider, and who accompanied him from the monastery to Hjo. He reported many amusing questions and answers, of which I send you a specimen. His Majesty asked, 'Whether the King was not expected at Højentorp.' 'Yes,' said the lad, 'I think so.' 'What should he do there?' 'That I do not know,' said the lad, 'but they say he will go hence to Stockholm.' He then said, smiling, 'Psha! to think he would go to Stockholm; they

say it is so far off.' . . . A hundred thousand kind remembrances to sister Anna and brother Eric."

In point of fact, Charles XII. never went to Stockholm after his departure in 1700, not choosing to show himself again in his capital unless as a victor. In the same month Polhem¹ writes to his young friend as follows :—

"*Noble and most respected friend*,—With great pleasure I read through the fourth number of your *Dædalus*, which, as far as I could see, is worked up with great industry and understanding. With regard to the article on 'Resistance,' I may perhaps mention that it seems to depend rather on some additional deductions, which might follow hereafter, and which we might meanwhile discuss orally, than to need any changes or corrections that I can point out; but, if I may be allowed to express candidly my opinion, it seems to me that the last correction was somewhat unnecessary. With respect to flying by artificial means, there is perhaps the same difficulty contained in it as in making a perpetual motion, or gold by artificial means, although at first sight it seems as easy to be done as it is desirable; for whatever any one approves strongly, he has generally a proportionate desire to carry out. In examining it more closely, some difficulty arises; for nature, as in the present case, is opposed to all common machines' preserving their same relations when constructed on a large as on a small scale, though all parts be made exactly alike and after the same proportions. For instance, although some stick or pole may be capable of bearing itself and some weight besides, still this does not apply to all sizes, although the same proportion may be preserved between the length and thickness; for while the weight increases in a triple ratio, the strength increases only in a double ratio. The same rule applies to surfaces, so that at last large bodies are incapable of sustaining themselves; and accordingly nature itself provides birds with a much lighter and stronger substance for their feathers, and also quite different sinews and bones in the body itself, which are required for the sake of strength and lightness, and which do not exist in any other organisms. Wherefore it is so much more difficult to have any success in the air, the same qualities being required in this case, and all the materials being wanted, which are necessary when a human body is to be carried in a machine. . . . Your arrival in Stiernsund will be most agreeable to me; and if my

¹ About this time Polhammar was ennobled by the King with the name of Polhem, by which we shall now call him. But for a time Polhem called himself Pollheimer, having discovered Polheim to be the ancestral name.

experience can be of any use to you, I will give it with so much the greater pleasure as the fruit of it will be of use to the public and will accrue to my own honor. After you enter upon physics, it might be useful to follow them up for some time more extensively, especially those which concern the causes of natural things; and also all other things necessary and curious, especially those of the household, etc. Immediately after I sent off my letter to you, I received yours. My wife and children desire to be remembered to you most kindly, and they also thank you for your compliments.

"I remain, most respected Sir, your most dutiful

"CHRISTOPH POLLHEIMER."

The last sentence of this letter possesses a pathetic interest in view of later developments. In another letter, of the same month, Polhem writes,—

"If the learned wish to have real satisfaction and honor from that which they teach others, they ought to have a better understanding of many things that are now taught; for nature is in many things quite differently constituted than is thought by Descartes and almost all his followers. And this can scarcely be taught better than by daily experience in mechanics and an investigation into its principles; and, although what I have gained there is extremely little in comparison with what still remains to be done, I nevertheless hope that my principles may pave the way for the rest. For I never approve of anything which does not apply to all cases and all consequences flowing from it; and whenever there is one single thing opposed to it, I hold its fundamental principle to be false. Moreover, it would be no small honor for the learned mathematicians if they could point out what their principal and most intricate figures are good for in practice, especially the geometric curves, etc., which I found useful in mechanics on more occasions than I expected while teaching them at Upsal, ignorant of their use."

This eagerness to develop practical, useful results from their science, it is pleasant to find, was a marked characteristic of Polhem, as well as of Swedenborg himself. A gap of a few months in the correspondence of these friends indicates a time when they enjoyed each other's company, and when the elder presented young Swedberg and his *Dædalus* to Charles XII., at once the most sagacious, the most bold, and the most obstinate of men. The occasion was a brief lull in the warrior monarch's stormy career, when, after reducing his coun-

try to an extremity of wretchedness, he was, Napoleon-like, devising projects of improvement. Polhem became now his right-hand, and Swedenborg's talents were quickly appreciated. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Benzelius, December, 1716, he says,—

“I wrote you a letter from Lund, and should have written to you more frequently, had I not been prevented by my mechanical and other occupations ; moreover, I had enough to attend to in order to accomplish my design. Since his Majesty graciously looked at my *Dædalus* and its plan, he has advanced me to the post of an Assessor Extraordinary in the College of Mines, yet in such a way that I should for some time attend the Councillor of Commerce, Pollheimer [Polhem). What pleases me most is that his Majesty pronounced so favorable and gracious a judgment respecting me, and himself defended me against those who thought the worst of me ; and that he has since promised me his further favor and protection,—of this I have been assured both directly and indirectly. But let me tell you all, more in detail : After his Majesty had sufficiently inquired as to my character, studies, and the like, and as I was so fortunate as to have good references, he offered me three posts and offices to choose from, and afterwards gave me the warrant for the rank and post of an Assessor Extraordinary. But as my enemies played too many intrigues with the above-mentioned warrant, and couched it in ambiguous terms, I sent it back to his Majesty with some comments, well knowing whom I had to depend upon ; when there was immediately granted me a new one, and likewise a gracious letter to the College of Mines. My opponent had to sit down at the King's own table and write this out in duplicate in two forms, of which the King selected the best ; so that those who had sought to injure me were glad to escape with honor and reputation, — they had so nearly burned their fingers.

“*Dædalus* has enjoyed the favor of lying these three weeks upon his Majesty's table, and has furnished matter for many

discussions and questions ; it has also been shown by his Majesty to many persons. Within a short time I intend to send you what is to follow for *Dædalus*, part v. ; when perhaps Drs. Roberg and Bromell will not refuse to honor it with their contributions ; they might possibly derive some profit from it.

“We arrived here at Carlsrona a few days ago, intending after three weeks to go to Gottenburg, and afterwards to Trollhätta, Lakes Wener and Hjelmars, and Gullspångelf, in order to examine sites for sluices and locks, — a plan which meets with his Majesty’s entire approbation. . . . A thousand kind remembrances to sister Anna. The kid gloves have been purchased.”

From these letters of what we may still call Swedenborg’s youth, we learn, better than from any description, its exuberance, its energy, its assurance of mathematical power, its fertility of invention, and its strong desire to be employed in practical works for the good of mankind. Mingled with these traits it is pleasant to see the warm, confiding love that overflows to the brother and sister who had cared for and directed his budding manhood, and were still to him as father and mother. The traits are the natural ones of the time of life. What we specially observe with Swedenborg is their vigor and power, eminent by inheritance, and conserved in remarkable degree by a freedom from all ignoble passions and weak indulgence, which we can attribute only to the protection that came with a deep sense of duty to God and to man.

CHAPTER IV.

ASSESSORSHIP. — EMPLOYMENT BY CHARLES XII.

THE appointment of Swedenborg, now twenty-eight years old, to an assessorship in the Royal College of Mines, marks an era in his life. We have seen him a child at home, a student at the university and among learned men abroad, and again at home diligently pursuing his studies, but eagerly seeking opportunities to put to practical service the talents of which he was conscious, and the learning he had so laboriously acquired. Now his opportunity is found, and, as was usual at that time, by the recognition and favor of royalty:—

“CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, Gothia, and Wendia, etc. Our especial favor and gracious pleasure, under God Almighty, to the true men and servants, to our Council and President, as well as Vice-President, and to all the Members of the College of Mines. Inasmuch as we have graciously deigned to command that Emanuel Swedberg shall be Assessor Extraordinary in the College of Mines, although he at the same time is to attend Pollheimer, the Councillor of Commerce, and to be of assistance to him in his engineering works, and in carrying out his designs,—therefore it is our pleasure hereby to let you know this, with our gracious command, and that you allow him a seat and voice in the College, whenever he be present, and especially whenever any business be brought forward pertaining to mechanics. We hereby commend you, especially and graciously, to God Almighty.

“CAROLUS.

“Lund, December 18, 1716.”

The College of Mines consisted of a President, always of the highest order of nobility, two councillors of mines, and some six assessors. Under its charge the whole mining inter-

est of Sweden was placed. From its records it appears that, on April 6, 1717, Mr. Emanuel Swedberg, appointed by his Majesty to be Assessor Extraordinary in the College of Mines, being present,—“As a beginning of his introduction, the royal decree which had been received was read. Afterwards the above-named Assessor, after delivering to the Royal College the formulary of the oath signed by himself, took the oath of loyalty and of office, with his hand upon the Book, and then took the seat belonging to him.”

With this simple, solemn induction into his office, Swedenborg entered upon his labors, to which he gave strict attention, unremitted, save on leave of his sovereign in the pursuit of his studies, for thirty years; with what satisfaction to the College and to the Government we shall learn, when we find him asking permission to retire. The office was a favorable one, demanding his best talent and energy, yet not so engrossing as to prevent his pursuing private studies. Except in the summer months, when the members of the College usually visited the mines, daily meetings were held in Stockholm, at which Swedenborg was punctual in attendance, when not in service elsewhere. For a while, however, by the command of Charles, he was kept away in assisting Polhem. Nor, by the King's wish, did he fail to continue his *Dædalus*. On the 23d of February, 1717, he writes to Benzelius,—

“Enclosed I send *Dædalus*, part v., and I most humbly solicit you to extend to it the kindness that you have shown towards the former numbers. I should have finished it long ago, but I have been continually on a journey of ever changing direction, which scarcely left me an hour's time for such work. But as I have now arrived at Stiernsund, I have found an opportunity, for a few days, to get this up as well as I can. I hope it will win the approval of the Upsal people, and especially your own.

“I have added the Latin to it on the opposite page, according to his Majesty's wish, who pointed out to me where the Swedish should be and where the Latin. . . .

"With regard to his [Dr. Roberg's] project for manufacturing salt, his Majesty discussed it and took the opposite side ; proving his case by Hungarian wine, which may be entirely frozen, and stating that, when he was in Poland, a cask of Hungarian wine was so completely frozen that he dealt it out in pieces with his sword to the men, although there remained a kernel in it, of the very essence of the wine, as large as a musket-ball. As his Majesty seemed to be interested in the manufacture of salt in Sweden, we gathered minute information about it in Uddevalla ; and we found that in Sweden there are the best opportunities for its manufacture, as there is abundance of forest and water for promoting the work. . . . Should such a work be established, it would profit the country more than the whole of its iron manufacture, in which a loss is occasionally sustained ; but in the case of salt there would be a real gain, and the money would remain in the country.

"We hope that our journey hither will in time be of importance. At Trollhätta, Gullspångelf, and Lake Hjelmar also, we found everything feasible, and at less expense than had been anticipated. If I do nothing more in the matter, I act at least as a stimulus in it.

"Will you please remember me kindly to little brother Eric. I hear that his love for mechanics and drawing continues. If he can give the slip to his preceptor, I should like to induce him to follow me ; when I would try in every way to promote his welfare, to instruct him in mathematics and other things, should it be desired. Please remember me also a hundred times to sister Anna."

The project referred to in this and a preceding letter, for which Swedenborg and Polhem had visited Trollhätta, was to connect the North and the Baltic seas by a canal, thus saving the long detour about the southern peninsula and the exposure to the hostile Danes, at Elsinore. It was a project of Bishop Brask in 1526, discovered by Benzelius, and communicated by Swedenborg to Charles XII., who

embraced it eagerly, but was prevented by death from its accomplishment.¹

Swedenborg writes on March 24th to the same friend, from Stockholm,—

“The salt-boiling and inland navigation are in a good way; I think that they will obtain the King’s approbation. I am now sending down to Deputy-Councillor Fahlström the project about the observatory at Upsal. I am inclined to think that his Majesty will approve of it, and also that he will call upon Upsal to hand in a proposition about the institution of a Faculty.”

Polhem writes acutely, March 27th,—

“*Respected Assessor*,—I avail myself of the present occasion to send my daughters Maja and Mrensa [Emerentia] to Stockholm, and at the same time to forward you the first draught of the continuation of my paper on physics, which I have not taken time to read over since, and there are therefore more particulars still to be noticed. . . . It is very appropriate that Stiernhjelm’s life, his intelligence and learning, should be described; and it would do no harm if some verses were placed over it in honor of Sweden, and of him about whom the paper is written. However short and cold the days may be which the sun grants to Sweden in winter, so much the longer and warmer are they in summer; and southerners have in this respect nothing to boast of over us, when the year is over. In like manner, although Sweden produces people of the dullest kind, who are ridiculed by other nations, there are, on the other hand, brought up in it such penetrating and lofty minds as surpass those of other countries, and are able to teach them; yet when you take the average of the two extremes, they may not do more than others.”

On the 26th of June, 1717, Swedenborg writes to Benezelius,—

“Five weeks ago, after I came here to Lund, I presented to his Majesty *Dædalus*, part v., and he was pleased, yea, more than pleased with it. . . . The salt-boiling will go on, his Majesty having resolved to grant great and important privileges, which will perhaps induce many zealous persons to venture their means in the affair; and should there be a

¹ Tafel, i. 275. Rumors are current of a revival of the project.

scarcity of shareholders in other places, Lund with its attorneys may perhaps do the most. The establishment of canal locks between Gottenburg and Wenersborg is also in good trim. I have besides been busy with a new method of counting, which his Majesty has hit upon ; namely, to let the numeration reach 64 before it turns, in the same way as the ordinary method of counting turns at 10. He has himself devised new characters, new names, etc., for this purpose ; and has written and changed a number of points with his own hand. This paper, which I have in my possession, will in time deserve a distinguished place in a library. This method of counting is difficult in multiplication, but it is useful and speedy in division, in the extraction of the square, cube, and biquadratic roots,—all of which terminate in 64,—as well as in the solution of smaller numbers. His Majesty has great penetration.”

Half a year later, December, 1717, Swedenborg presents to his brother, Benzelius, another and better-known side of “his Majesty’s” character, showing that even his favorite mathematicians and mechanicians were at the mercy of his whims. He writes,—

“I hear that little brother Eric has gone to Upsal and caught the small-pox. I should be very sorry if any harm befel him in consequence. I long to hear of his recovery. His vivacity is very much against his bearing it long ; but it rests with God to change it.

“I am writing to M. Vassenius, which I could not do before, as I did not know where he was. I should like to be able to do something in the matter of the *stipendium duplex*, and of anything else in his favor ; but the difficulty is simply this : If one presents to his Majesty anything which does not properly belong to his office, he knows what answer he will get. Again, if any one were to be asked to present it, it would have to be Secretary Cederholm, who will do nothing. The Councillor of Commerce [Polhem] has applied for twenty things, and has obtained a decision only in the matter



of the salt-works. I myself have not spoken to his Majesty more than twice, and then it was only some nonsense about mathematics, riddles in algebra, etc. On account of the Councillor of Commerce, I have tried very earnestly not to obtain this grace more frequently. Should I anywhere else have occasion to speak to him alone, I will try to accomplish something."

On the 7th of January he writes from Brunsbo,—

"Enclosed I send you something which I found time to write at Brunsbo ; it is a new method of calculation, of which I received a hint while I was at Lund. His Majesty is much interested in this kind of calculation, and has himself prepared characters, names, and rules for a method ; but in it there was no turn until 64. I have two sheets which he himself wrote on this subject, which shall belong to the Library. The present method goes to 8 only, before it turns ; and could it be introduced into use, it would be of great practical advantage. The example proves this. . . . My dear father is still at Lund. He is about to argue his 'Shibboleth,' and has perhaps done so already. . . . You will please excuse my haste ; I have some commissions to attend to during the Fair. Meanwhile I wish you a happy New Year, and much pleasure and joy. With my remembrances to sister Anna and little brother Eric, I remain, honored and dear brother, your most faithful brother,

"EMAN. SWEDBERG."

A week later, from the same place, he writes,—

"*Most honored and dear brother*,—As I had some leisure hours here at Brunsbo, I have prepared an Art of the Rules, or Algebra, in Swedish ; and, although I had no book or other help at hand, I have tried to make it as easy and concise as possible : it will probably not exceed six sheets in print. I was induced to write it chiefly because so many in Lund and Stockholm have begun to study algebra, and because I have been requested by others to prepare it. I

hope that it will be of service to the public. . . . Our dear father has not yet returned home, but he is expected to-day or to-morrow, when we shall hear much news. He seems to have been well received by his Majesty ; he dined with him three times, and preached before him on the second Sunday in Advent ; he also conversed with him many times."

Again, a week later, he writes, Jan. 21, 1718,—

"By the last post I had the honor to receive your letter, with the intelligence of the death of Professor Elfvius.¹ God grant him peace and rest ! I think it was his own wish. In the advice which you so kindly gave me about becoming his successor, I recognize most gratefully your kindness and good-will ; and as I know that no one of my relations has ever entertained such kind wishes towards me as you, I recognize the same good-will in the present matter. The arguments you adduce are very good, yet on the other side I can adduce some very strong arguments, as for instance : First, I have already an honorable post ; second, in this post I can be of use to my country, and, indeed, of more practical use than in the other position ; third, I thus decline a Faculty which does not agree with my tastes and my turn of mind, by both of which I am led to mechanics, and will be in future to chemistry,—and our College is noted for having assessors who know very little on these subjects. For this reason I will endeavor to supply this deficiency, and I hope that my labors in this direction will be as profitable to them, as their own may be in another ; I trust also that no one will judge me unworthy of my office. With regard to envy, this is more a matter of laughter to me than of apprehension ; for I have always striven to cause myself to be envied, and in the future I shall perhaps become a still greater object of envy. The only object which would induce me to follow your suggestion, would be that I might be with you and enjoy one or two years' leisure to put my thoughts on paper, which I have some difficulty in doing now ; but I will certainly never apply to the consistory

¹ Professor of Astronomy at Upsal.

and the rector in writing, for did they not accede to my application I should be under the disadvantage of having sought to be relieved of an honorable post, from which I shall in time derive more profit than simply the promise of being allowed to enjoy it to the end of my life : moreover, I should be under the disadvantage of having declared myself unfit for my present position. Should the Academy consider me qualified for their position, they may take all necessary steps without my application ; but if they do not consider me qualified, I am indifferent about it. I thank you a thousand times for your well-intended kindness ; I shall never be happier than in being near you, so as to have more frequently the opportunity of doing what is pleasant to you. . . . [Speaking of his mathematical discoveries,] I wish I had some more of these novelties, ay, a novelty in literary matters for every day in the year, so that the world might find pleasure in them. There is never a lack of those who will plod on in the old beaten track, while there are scarcely six or ten in a whole century who are able to generate novelties which are based upon argument and reason. . . . As the King has already approved of the calculation based on the number 8, you must be so good as not to create any difficulties that may delay its publication. I have five little treatises which I desire to lay before my friends ; one, which I have finished to-day, is on the round particles, in which Dr. Roberg will probably be interested, for he is well skilled in all that concerns these least things, and is delighted with such subjects."

In these liberal extracts from Swedenborg's letters, of which we have more at this period of his life than at any other, we copy without reserve whatever seems to throw any light on his character and on the nature of his pursuits. The entire collection is to be found in Tafel's *Documents*, in which it makes one hundred and seventy octavo pages. During the publication of the *Dædalus*, from 1716 to 1718, Swedenborg published little else. A small tract in Swedish on the tin-ware of Stiernsund, 1717, is attributed to him ; and it is prob-

able that his *Algebra*, a 16mo. of 135 pages, was printed in 1718. Of works of this period in manuscript there are still preserved an essay on the "Importance of Instituting an Astronomical Observatory in Sweden;" one on the "Causes of Things;" "A new Theory concerning the End of the Earth," in which he holds that the earth revolves in a resisting medium and is gradually retarding its motion and approaching the sun; a project for "Assisting Commerce and Manufactures," by controlling the export of Swedish iron and copper; a "Memorial on the Establishment of Salt-works in Sweden;" an essay on "The Nature of Fire and Colors;" and some discussions of higher mathematics, involving the Differential and Integral Calculus. Of the direction of his studies at this time, the following letter to Benzelius, written 30th January, 1718, gives further information:—

"I send you something new in physics, on the particles of air and water, proving them to be round, which may militate against the philosophy of many; but as I base my theory upon experience and geometry, I do not expect that any one can refute it by arguments. Preconceived ideas received from Descartes and others will be the greatest obstacle to it, and will cause objections. Dr. Roberg, who in everything that is minute and subtle is himself subtle, is best able to judge respecting it: if you would therefore be kind enough to leave this with him, I should like to hear his opinion. If Professor Valerius would lay aside his own and his father's Cartesianism, his opinion would also be valuable to me. I have materials enough on this subject to fill a large book, as is done by the learned with their speculations abroad; but as we have no appliances here for such large publications, I must cut my coat according to the cloth, and introduce only the most general views. The use of this seems to me to enable us to investigate more thoroughly the nature of air and water in all its parts: for if the true shape of the particles is once discovered, we obtain with it all the properties which belong to such a shape. I hope that this rests on a solid foundation. In

future I should not wish to publish anything which has not better ground to rest upon than the former things in the *Dædalus*. . . .

“With respect to the professorship at Upsal I expressed my thoughts to you from Brunsbo, and I hope you will receive them kindly. I hope I shall be able to be as useful in the post which has been intrusted to me, and also to secure to myself as many advantages ; my present position being only a step to a higher one, while at Upsal I should have nothing more to expect. Moreover, I do not believe that the King would like me to give up my present position. With regard to the College, I will try most diligently to make myself at home in mechanics, physics, and chemistry ; and at all events to lay a proper foundation for everything, when I hope no one will have any longer a desire to charge me with having entered the College as one entirely unworthy : and yet I have no desire, either, to be called *legis consultissimus*.”

In February he writes,—

“I received to-day a letter from the Councillor of Commerce at Wenersborg, in which he presses and urges me to journey thither. He has now received the order that the locks are to be built, and that the navigation between the Baltic and North Sea is to be through the lakes of Wener and Wetter to Norköping, at his Majesty’s private expense. There is considerable work ahead, but I shall have to stay here for two weeks yet. Then, with your leave, I will come as fast as possible to Upsal, in order to see through the press what I have in hand. The Councillor of Commerce writes that the King wonders and expresses dissatisfaction at my not going on with the *Dædalus* as before. I should like very much to take something down with me which will please the King. Let nothing interfere with my new method of calculation ; it may be very useful for those who desire to use it. I take the whole responsibility upon myself.”

Too late : the advantages of 8 as a base of calculation are obvious, and it is a matter of constantly repeated regret that it

is now, as indeed it was before Swedenborg's time, too late to make the change.

About this time he complains of a "rise in the postage," as threatened among other exactions of Charles XII. Another hardship, complained of at the same time, was the price appointed for relays furnished to travellers by the Swedish peasants, in order to force them to take the regular posting vehicles. He says,—

"The first thing I will do will be to procure myself a horse and sledge, and for each journey a barrel of oats in the sledge; and the first one I meet, I will ask for a share of his provisions. I have not the least desire to pay twenty-seven dalers in copper for a sledge and driver to the next inn on the road to Upsal, two Swedish miles."

These complaints prepare us for a delay, and the next letter is from Wenersborg, the following June:—

"Most honored and dear brother,—Some time has elapsed since I wrote to you. The delay is in proportion to the distance and to the rise in postage; yet I hope that your confidence remains as before.

"We are now daily occupied in bringing the first lock to completion, which cannot, however, be done before Michaelmas. The expenses are small beyond all expectation, because the whole work is of timber. Yet it is built so as to last a long time, and any part which gives way can be repaired without renewing the whole structure. I am trying to prevail on the Councillor of Commerce to appoint one or two persons to superintend the work; and as I think Messrs. Vassenius and Hasselbom would like such an appointment, I have proposed them. . . .

"It seems to me there is but little reward for the trouble of advancing the cause of science,—partly on account of the lack of funds, which prevents our going as far into it as we ought; and partly also on account of the jealousy which is excited against those who busy themselves more than other persons with a given subject. Whenever a country leans

towards barbarism, it is vain for one or two persons to try to keep it upright.

"Baron Görtz has passed twice through this place, and inspected the work at the locks, over which he is chief. . . . His Majesty examined also Trollhätta, and I had the favor of conversing much with him. I did not offer him my "Art of the Rules" and my "Attempt to find the Longitude," further than by leaving them upon his table, when he sat and perused them for a considerable time. Many wonderful tales are reported about us in the neighborhood. Among other things they say that we stopped up the Trollhätta Falls at the moment the King was there. Such unbounded confidence have they in art."

Again from Wenersborg, September 14th, he writes,—

"Your welcome letter reached me in Strömstadt; it had come after me to Wenersborg and Strömstadt, and therefore I could not answer it sooner. I have been twice at Strömstadt, and I shall probably have to go there soon again.

"I found his Majesty most gracious towards me, much more so than I had any reason to expect, which I regard as a good omen. Count Mörner also showed me all the favor that I could wish.

"Every day I had some mathematical matters for his Majesty, who deigned to be pleased with all of them. When the eclipse took place, I took his Majesty out to see it, and talked much to him about it. This, however, is a mere beginning. I hope in time to be able to do something in this quarter for the advancement of science; but I do not wish to bring anything forward now, except what is of immediate use. His Majesty found considerable fault with me for not having continued my *Dædalus*; but I pleaded want of means, of which he does not like to hear. I expect some assistance for it very soon.

"With respect to brother Esberg [a nephew of Benzelius], I will see that he gets some employment at the locks; but nothing can be done before next spring. If he meanwhile

studies mathematics well, and begins to make models, it will be perhaps of use to him. I wish very much that little brother Ericus was grown up. I believe that next spring, if everything remain as it is, I shall begin the building of a lock myself, and shall have my own command ; in which case I hope to be of service to one or the other. I receive only three dalers a day at present at the canal works ; but I hope soon to receive more.

“Polhem’s eldest daughter is betrothed to a chamberlain of the King, of the name of Manderström. I wonder what people will say about this, inasmuch as she was engaged [by her father] to me. His second daughter is in my opinion much prettier.

“How is Professor Valerius? I should be very glad to hear of his health and good condition. Remember me to sister Anna.”

Polhem’s second daughter, Emerentia, was young at this time, not quite sixteen, and did not, it would appear, reciprocate Swedenborg’s tender feeling. Her father, it is said, gave him a written claim upon her in the future, in the hope that she would become more yielding, and this contract she was obliged to sign. She fretted about it, however, so much every day that her brother was moved with compassion and purloined the contract from Swedenborg, whose only comfort consisted in daily perusing it, and who therefore quickly missed his treasure. His sorrow at his loss was so evident that her father insisted on knowing the cause ; and on learning it, was willing by an exercise of his authority to have the lost document restored. But, when Swedenborg himself saw her grief, he voluntarily relinquished his right, and left the house, it is said, with a solemn vow never to fix his affections on any woman again. However this may have been, it is certain that he never married, and that he never forgot his first love. She was married a few years after to Rückersköld, Councillor of the Court of Appeals, to whom she bore nine children, and died in 1760. Late in Swedenborg’s life some of her

daughters used to visit him, and he told them that he could then converse with their mother whenever he desired.¹

What called Swedenborg to Strömstadt, he does not explain. But from other sources we learn that he was engaged in superintending the transportation of two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop, seventeen miles overland, from Strömstadt to Iderfjol, for the aid of Charles XII. in his operations against Frederickshall. Baron Sandels, in his eulogy, gives the credit of the feat to Swedenborg, and in fact we have seen that, several years before, he had drawn out plans for such transportation; but we do not know whether the plan adopted was his or Polhem's.

In October of the same year, 1718, he writes again from his father's home at Brunsbo,—

"Most honored and dear brother,—I am just starting for Carlsgraf, after having been here about three weeks. Meanwhile I have seen *Dædalus*, part vi., through the press. It contains the following articles: 1. Directions for Pointing Mortars, by C. Polhem; 2. An Easy Way of Counting Balls which are Stored in the Shape of a Triangle, by Em. S——; 3. Useful Directions in Ship-Building. 4. A Proof that our Vital Nature consists of Small Tremulations,—with a great Number of Experiments; 5. Respecting a Curve, the Secant of which forms Right Angles with it. I have sent this, the figures and letter-press, to his Majesty. As soon as I have an opportunity, I will send it over to you.

"By the first opportunity I will also send it to Vice-President Hjärne, with a courteous, but at the same time decided letter, to stop his impertinences, because it is quite possible that some one may show up the puerilities and shortcomings in scientific matters which he himself has had the daring to publish. I will send you a copy of this letter some other time.

¹ Not, however, as we understand, with the old interest. There is a tradition among Swedenborg's friends in London, that in later life he spoke of the excellent Countess Gyllenborg as the one awaiting him in the other world.

“Our dear father has made us a present of his share in the mining property. I wish we may succeed in arriving at an equitable arrangement. Brother Lars is somewhat unpleasant towards me. It would be well for him not to continue in this course ; for it does not seem proper in a relative that he should be more on the side of Ahlgren than on that of his brother-in-law. Among all my brothers and relatives there is not one who has entertained a kind feeling towards me, except yourself ; and in this I was confirmed by a letter which my brother wrote to my father about my journey abroad. If I can in any way show a due sense of gratitude, I will always do so. Brother Unge does not hold his hands away from any one ; at least he has estranged my dear father’s and my dear mother’s affections for the last four years. Still, this will probably not be to his advantage.

“His Majesty will probably go to Wenersborg at the close of the month, to inspect the army. I will see if I cannot get leave to follow to Norway. If I can be of any service there to my brothers and sisters, it will be the greatest pleasure to me.”

This letter hints at several matters which bespeak our attention,—the unfortunate King’s expedition against Norway, in which he is about to lose his life ; Swedenborg’s position in his own family, which is plainly not as pleasant as could be wished ; and his patrimony, the means of his support.

Vice-President Hjärne, here and elsewhere referred to with some irritation, himself an eminent man of science, seems to have been slow to recognize Swedenborg’s merit and fitness for a place in the College of Mines, of which he was Vice-President. Perhaps he was jealous of his being a favorite with the King, and perhaps he visited on him a share of his quarrel with Bishop Swedberg about his “*Shibboleth*,”—an essay on the use of the Swedish language. At a little later period we find a better understanding between the men of science.

At this time Swedenborg had but one brother living, Jes-

per, a young man of twenty-four years, then studying navigation in England, and afterwards schoolmaster for five years in "New Sweden," America. It was, then, of his brothers-in-law,—the husbands of his sisters Hedwig (Lars Benzelius¹), Catharina (the Dean Unge), and possibly of Margaretha (Captain Lunstedt),—that Swedenborg complained, as unfriendly. Of the cavalry officer we know almost nothing. Of Lars Benzelius, though brother of Swedenborg's special friend, Ericus Benzelius, Anna's honored husband, we hear no good. To Swedenborg, at least, he seems to have been hostile always, though at a later period he sat with him in the College of Mines. The Dean Unge was a favorite curate with Bishop Swedberg, who had a high regard for him; and some years later we find him on friendly terms with Swedenborg himself. It seems probable that the unfriendliness at this time in the family arose, as so frequently happens, from disagreement about the management of their property. We have seen that Bishop Swedberg's fortune was mostly that of his first wife, the mother of all his children; and that, using this freely in his own projects, he found it difficult to supply Emanuel with what was necessary in his studies abroad. It is not improbable that some of the other members of the family found trouble in securing their share at the same time, and may have helped their father to feel that Emanuel was requiring more than was wise to expend in scientific pursuits. The chief part of this property left by the Bishop's first wife was in iron-works at Skinskatteberg. It now appears that the Bishop 'has made us a present of his share in the mining property;' and later, by purchase from the other heirs, Swedenborg and the husband of a cousin became sole owners. In 1720 the second wife of the Bishop died; and that she was not so much estranged from Emanuel as he at one time thought, we may infer from her desire to leave to him her mining property at Starbo. It was only by the earnest persuasion of her husband, who had his youngest son, Jesper,

¹ Afterwards Benzelstierna.

close at heart, though living in America, that she was induced to make the other children sharers ; and this she provided should be arranged by Emanuel's paying them a certain sum, retaining the mining property himself. That he varied from this intention, by taking Lars Benzelius as a partner, he afterwards had reason to regret. Still another piece of mining property came into his hands, on the death of his own mother's brother, about 1721, which gave him trouble enough in suits with his aunt, Brita Behm, who held four-fifths interest and wanted everything her own way.

The expedition of the King to Norway was ill-starred. Happily Swedenborg thought better of his desire to be in the party. On the 8th of December, 1718, he writes again to Benzelius,—

"I had the pleasure to receive your letter at Brunsbo, where I intend to remain until the Christmas holidays, and then go for a few weeks into the mining districts and to Stockholm. Thank God ! I have escaped the campaign to Norway, which had laid a hold so strong upon me that I could escape only by dint of some intrigues. I was glad beyond measure to hear of your intended journey hither ; I will by all means wait for you here. Although our dear mother makes some remarks about the fodder, still your horses will be very well taken care of at Magister Unge's, who is rector of Fägre, or else at the inn where brother Lundstedt stayed for two weeks ; I will take care of this. If my sledge and furs would be of use for the journey, you might bring them with you.

"P. S. Gyllentöw, a redoubt near Frederickshall, was taken by storm on the 27th of November.

"I expect my sledge, my furs, and muff."

Alas ! before this letter was written, and only three days after the taking of the redoubt mentioned in the postscript, in the same siege of Frederickshall, his Majesty, Charles XII., had been struck in the head by a ball, while kneeling in an advanced trench and leaning on the parapet, and with a deep

sigh fell dead. Said his French engineer, "There, the play is over ; let us be gone !" Years afterwards Swedenborg, in his *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, describing the "genuine valor" resulting "from the imperative mandate of the soul, which aspires to the glory or pleasure anticipated from the achievement of general good to society," added, "This genuine valor we may observe illustrated in Charles XII., late King of Sweden, that hero of the North, who did not know what that was that others called fear ; nor what that spurious valor and daring that is excited by inebriating draughts, for he never tasted any liquid but pure water : of him we may say that he led a life more remote from death, and in fact *lived* more, than other men " (vol. i. p. 192).

A long silence fitly marks the loss of the royal patron. Polhem breaks it, April 18, 1719, asking Benzelius for news of Swedenborg, saying that he has not heard from him for some time, and three of his own letters have come back to him from Stockholm. "As I understand," he says, "that he is probably now at Upsal, I must beg you to offer him my greeting, or else to send it to him by letter wherever he may be at present, and also to ask him to favor me with one of his welcome letters, which are so much the more acceptable in our house as he has given us sufficient cause to love him as our own son."

From Swedenborg himself we hear nothing till the next November, almost a year from his last date, when he writes to Benzelius from Stockholm about a report from France that the earth is found to be sensibly approaching the sun. He had previously written his own opinion that there is a very gradual slowing of the earth's motion, and hence a corresponding gradual approach to the sun ; but he is incredulous as to any detection of approach by observation. The discouragement shown in a previous letter as to the reception of scientific labors in Sweden seems growing upon him.

"During the summer I took the necessary leisure to commit some things to paper, which I trust will be my last ; as

speculations and arts like these are left to starve in Sweden, where they are looked upon by a set of political blockheads as scholastic matters which must remain in the background, while their own supposed refined ideas and their intrigues occupy the foreground.

“What I have in hand consists, first, of a minute description of our Swedish blast-furnaces ; secondly, of a theory or an investigation into the nature of fire and stoves, where I have collected everything I could gather from blacksmiths, charcoal-burners, roasters of ore, superintendents of iron-furnaces, etc. ; and upon this the theory is based. I hope that the many discoveries which I have made therein will in time prove useful. For instance, a fire may be made in some new stoves for warming, where the wood and coal which usually last a day will last six days, and will give out more heat. Vice-President Hjärne has approved of this in all its particulars, and if desired I can show the proof of it. The former of these treatises I handed in to-day to the Royal College of Mines.

“I have also written a little anatomy of our vital forces, which, I maintain, consist of tremulations. For this purpose I made myself thoroughly acquainted with the anatomy of the nerves and membranes ; and I have proved the harmony which exists between that and the interesting geometry of tremulations,—together with many other ideas, where I found that I agreed with those of Baglivius. The day before yesterday I handed them in to the Royal Medical College.

“Besides this, I have improved the little treatise, which was published at Upsal, about the high water in primeval times ; and I have added a number of clear proofs, together with an undeniable demonstration how stones were moved in a deep ocean. I have also adduced arguments to show how the northern horizon was changed, and that it is reasonable to suppose that Sweden in the primeval ages was an island. This I have handed in to the Censor of Books, so as to publish it anew. There is also quite a number of smaller

papers. The deep study by which I have endeavored to compass these subjects has caused me to look with contempt upon everything I have heretofore published ; but I intend to improve them very much when they are to be translated [from Swedish into French or Latin]. . . .

“With much love, I remain your most faithful servant,

“EMAN. SWEDENBORG.”

This is the first letter we have in which Swedenborg assumes the new name, which had been given in June to the wife and children of Bishop Swedberg, with admission to the equestrian order of the nobility, and so to a seat in the Diet,—an honor granted by the new Queen, Ulrica Eleonora, younger sister of Charles XII., out of the friendly regard she had always shown for the independent clergyman, and in return, perhaps, for his support of the royal power.

The essays here referred to are still preserved, but most of their subjects were afterwards treated at much greater length. Of the little book on geological changes, we may mention that so late as 1842 the great chemist, Berzelius, referred to it in terms of commendation before the Scandinavian Scientific Association. But though in advance of its age, remarkable for acuteness of observation and deduction, and in some measure anticipating the science of geology, its premises were not altogether sound, and its results have been superseded by the more extended researches of later students.

This letter seems to have pleased the worthy brother-in-law ; for, three weeks later, Swedenborg writes again, “I am delighted to hear that what I wrote you in my last was to your liking.” He adds some further argument to show that no sudden approach to the sun is taking place. Incidentally he brings in his theory of the vortical energy which controls the solar system, and also each world in itself, but in too brief terms to be cited as a statement of the theory. At greater length he gives reasons for thinking that the sun cannot be,

as some had conjectured, the abode of the damned. He would rather suspect that there is the abode of the blessed : since from the sun is all the heat, light, and life of the world, indeed the most refined elements of existence, where we might look for that which is above and within matter, and might even imagine the seat of God Himself.

Here we have a ready basis for Swedenborg's later understanding, after his illumination, that God is in the sun of heaven, and that through this sun He sends life and force into the sun of this world, for the support of material existence. As to the fires of the damned, he suggests that the pain of burning is the effect of destruction of tissue, which cannot be what is meant in the Bible ; but rather he thinks the remorse of conscience might be a sufficiently strong fire. In this, too, he is approaching the doctrine he afterwards taught, when better instructed, that the fires of hell are the fires of selfish passion. But he piously concludes, "I hope that my philosophizing may not be misinterpreted ; for, after all, the foundation is God's Word."

On the 1st of December he writes again,—

"*Most honored and dearest brother*,—I send you herewith the little work which I mentioned in my last respecting a decimal system in our coinage and measures. This is the last that I will publish myself, because every-day and home affairs grow of small account, and because I have already worked myself poor by them. I have been singing long enough ; let us see whether any one will come forward and hand me some bread in return.

"There are, however, some plans which I have entertained for some time, and which at last have assumed a definite shape. I should like to see how far they meet with your approval : First, to translate what I have published into Latin or French, and to send it then to Holland and England ; to which I should like to add, by way of improvement, some of my discoveries about fire and stones, and about some improvements in mining matters ; besides some other papers

which are not yet printed. Would you be kind enough to give the names of some who write scientific papers and memoirs? Second, as I think I now in some measure understand the mechanics which are of use in mining districts and in mines, so far at least as to be able better than any one else to describe what is new and old there, and further to understand the theory of fire and stones, as to which I have made quite a number of discoveries, I intend to spend all my remaining time upon what may promote everything that concerns mining, and, on the basis which has already been laid, in collecting as much information as possible. Third, if fortune so favors me that I shall be provided with all the means that are required, and if meanwhile by the above preparations and communications I shall have gained some credit abroad, I should prefer by all means to go abroad and seek my fortune in my calling, which consists in promoting everything that concerns the administration and working of mines. For he is nothing short of a fool, who is independent and at liberty to do as he pleases, and sees an opportunity for himself abroad, and yet remains at home in darkness and cold, where the Furies, Envy, and Pluto have taken up their abode and dispose the rewards, and where labors such as I have performed are rewarded with misery. The only thing I would desire until that time comes is *bene latere*, to find a sequestered place where I can live secluded from the world. I think I may find such a corner in the end either at Starbo or at Skinskatteberg. But as this would take four or five years' time, I am quite ready to acknowledge that long-laid plans are like long roofs, apt to tumble in ; for man proposes, God disposes. Still I have always been in favor of a man's knowing what he is doing, and of his forming for himself some clever plan of what it is most practicable for him to carry out in his life. I remain, most honored and dear brother,

“Your most faithful servant and brother,

“EMAN. SWEDENBORG.”

This letter we have copied in full for its frank expression of the writer's intentions at this time ; and now we must pass over a number of letters that follow, relating for the most part to various speculations in mechanics, anatomy, and literary matters. Anatomy seems to occupy his time mostly for some months. Then, May 2, 1720, he writes,—

“I am at present engaged in examining all the chemistry contained in the treasury of the Sudeman Library, which belongs now to Hesselius ; for I have proposed to myself to examine thoroughly everything that concerns fire and metals, *a primis incunabulis usque ad maturitatem*, according to the plan of the memorandum which has been already communicated to you. I take the chemical experiments of Boyle, Reucher, Hjärne, Simons, and others, and trace out nature in its least things, instituting comparisons with geometry and mechanics. I am also encouraged every day by new discoveries as to the nature of these subtile substances ; and as I am beginning to see that experience in an uninterrupted series seems to be inclined to agree therewith, I am becoming more and more confirmed in my ideas. It seems to me that the immense number of experiments that have been made affords a good ground for building upon ; and that the toil and expenses incurred by others may be turned to use by working up with head what they have collected with their hands. Many deductions may thus be made which will be of use in chemistry, metallurgy, and in determining the nature of fire and other things.”

Here, we regret to say, ends in effect this series of letters from Swedenborg to Benzelius. Two or three brief notes a year, for a few years longer, are all that have been preserved. In these few there is no change of kind manner ; and the loving dedication of a small work to this brother-in-law, then Right Reverend Bishop, in 1734, precludes the suspicion of any coolness. Either Swedenborg's engrossing engagements checked the correspondence, or the later letters were not preserved with the earlier ones. In 1742 Benzelius was

appointed Archbishop at Upsal, the primacy of Sweden ; but he died in 1743, before entering on the duties of the office. He was a man of great learning, and had an extensive correspondence with learned men abroad. Of this correspondence, including the letters of Swedenborg, eighteen folio volumes are preserved in the Cathedral Library at Linköping. His wife, Anna Swedenborg, lived till 1766 ; and it would be a pleasant thing to find some of the letters which, we may presume, she received from her loving brother. But they were written, no doubt, in their mother tongue, and Anna has not left them to us.

"To the Archbishop," rightly says the editor of the *Documents*, we "owe a large debt of gratitude" for having preserved this series of letters from his young brother-in-law, written in the most vivacious and enterprising period of his life. In this unrestrained flow of friendly, family letters we gain a nearer, fuller view of the natural character of the man than we could have gained in any other way. True, it is the spiritual character of Swedenborg that we most desire to know ; but the spiritual is born of the natural, in subjecting its strength of mind and of will to the Divine Will. And thus, to know the spiritual intimately, we need to know in what struggle it has been born. By what we have seen in these frank letters, of Swedenborg's natural self-confidence and impatience at want of appreciation, we shall better understand the depth of the spiritual humility and heavenly serenity that were given in later life. He loves much who feels that much has been forgiven.

CHAPTER V.

TWENTY YEARS' LABOR.—OPERA PHILOSOPHICA.

OUR next information of Swedenborg's movements is from a petition filed in the archives of the Royal College of Mines, dated Skinskatteberg, June 19, 1720, setting forth that he has spent all his time and money in perfecting himself in what would make him useful to his country, in conducting important works in its service, and in publishing scientific treatises; wherefore he begs the Royal College graciously to provide him with some salary or other means of support, by virtue of his appointment as Assessor Extraordinary. What answer was returned to the petition, we do not know. Our documents are silent in regard to him for a year. Probably he spent the time in retired study, agreeably to his intention, as declared to Benzelius. It is to be borne in mind that his office as Assessor Extraordinary brought him no salary, except when in actual employment, of which he had little after the death of Charles XII. On the 30th of June, 1721, from the sea-port, Helsingborg, he writes to the President and the Royal College of Mines,—

“As I am about to undertake a new journey abroad, it is my duty to make it known to your Excellency and to the Honorable College in writing; especially as my only object is to collect more minute information respecting the condition of the mines abroad and the processes which are followed there, and also to make inquiries respecting commerce, so far as it relates to metals.”

After stating more fully his plans, he asks for instructions and advice, and says that he intends, with God's help, to be

in Amsterdam in six weeks, where he will await advices. Of this journey we have a brief sketch, as follows :—

“In the spring of 1721 I again went abroad, going to Holland by Copenhagen and Hamburg. There I published my *Prodromus Principiorum Rerum Naturalium*, and several other short treatises in octavo. From Holland I travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle, Liège, Cologne, and other adjacent places, examining the mines there. Thence I went to Leipsic, where I published my *Miscellanea Observata*. Leaving that town I visited all the mines in Saxony, and then returned to Hamburg. From Hamburg I returned to Brunswick and Goslar, and visited all the mines in the Hartz Mountains belonging to the houses of Hanover and Lüneburg. The father-in-law of a son of the Emperor and of a son of the Czar, Duke Louis Rudolph, who resided at Blankenburg, graciously defrayed all my expenses ; and on taking leave of him he presented me with a gold medal and a large silver coffee-pot, besides bestowing upon me many other marks of his favor. I then returned to Hamburg, and thence, by way of Stralsund and Ystad, to Stockholm, having been absent one year and three months.”

The two Latin treatises, the publication of which is here briefly mentioned, have been translated and published in London under the respective titles of *Some Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Chemistry*, and *Miscellaneous Observations connected with the Physical Sciences*. In the first-named volume are included also three other publications of Swedenborg, of the same year, “New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire ;” “A New Method of Finding the Longitudes of Places ;” and “A New Method of Constructing Docks and Dykes.” These essays give a fair specimen of Swedenborg’s manner of treating scientific subjects. He first collects the observations and experiments of others, adding a few of his own, and then, with geometry for a guide, searches for the hidden causes and operations of nature. His theory of matter we find well summarized by one of his ablest translators, Dr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson.

The theory is, "that roundness is the form adapted to motion ; that the particles of fluids, and specifically of water, are round, hollow spherules, with a subtle matter, identical with ether or caloric, in their interiors and interstices ; that the crust, or crustal portion, of each particle is itself formed of lesser particles, and these again of lesser, and so forth,—water, being in this way the sixth dimension, or the result of the sixth grouping of the particles ; that the interstices of the fluids furnish the original moulds of the solids, and the rows of crustal particles forced off one by one by various agencies, furnish the matter of the same ; that after solid particles are thus cast in their appropriate moulds, their fracture, aggregation, the filling-in of their pores and interstices by lesser particles, and a number of other and accidental conditions, provide the units of the multiform substances of which the mineral kingdom is composed. According to this theory, then, there is but one substance in the world, namely, the first ; the difference of things is difference of form ; there are no positive, but only relative, atoms ; no metaphysical, but only real, elements ; moreover, the heights of chemical doctrine can be scaled by rational induction alone, planted on the basis of analysis, synthesis, and observation."

To the above may be added the remarkable fact that Swedenborg's crustal particles bear to the interior and interstitial space the ratio in volume of one to two, and in weight that of eight to one,—a coincidence with the ratios of the later discovered elements that is highly suggestive.¹ The theory once established would be found to furnish explanations of many other facts ; but the time for its verification has not yet come. The same is true of the theory of color, as depending on the recipient, light itself being purely white,—a theory, by the way, earnestly and independently advocated by Goethe, and learned by Newton himself in the other world, as stated by

¹ Dumas, in his *Chemical Philosophy*, remarks of Swedenborg, "It is then to him we are indebted for the first idea of making cubes, tetraedea, pyramids, and the different crystalline forms, by grouping the spheres."

Swedenborg. The truth is, that, in spite of his constant appeal to experiment and to geometry, Swedenborg's reasoning does not always carry conviction. He seems to have a certain inner philosophic sense, by which he himself sees clearly what others need to have shown by intermediate steps. But the chief reason why his scientific works have not yet found themselves in the line of thought of men of science, is that modern scientific work has been mainly devoted to observation and differentiation of effects, while Swedenborg's thought rose at once to causes, with the ultimate aim of learning the operation of the First Cause.

On his return, Swedenborg addressed a letter, July 14, 1722, to King Frederic, the German husband of Queen Ulrica Eleonora, commencing as follows :—

*"Most mighty and gracious King,—*As your Royal Majesty takes a gracious interest in the mining produce of your country, and as you are likewise pleased to encourage all efforts by which the productiveness of our mines may be stimulated and increased, I therefore venture in all humility to come before you with some measures by which the mode of working the mines in Sweden may be improved, limiting myself for the present to some improvements in the working of copper. For, by carefully investigating the process used in Sweden, and comparing it with that employed abroad, taking into consideration the difference in the ore, I have discovered some means by which the yield of copper may be considerably increased."

Swedenborg then offers to prove, by experiment on a large scale, that he can obtain ten per cent more copper from the ore than is usually obtained in Sweden, besides making the result sure, which was at that time subject to the "luck" of the smelters. In case of failure of the experiment, he undertakes to bear the loss ; and on the other hand asks, that, in case of success, he may receive the first year's gain by the new process, throughout the country ; the right to demand a second trial being reserved to either party.

This proposition was referred to the Royal College of Mines, leading to a long correspondence between Swedenborg, the Royal College of Mines, and the Board of Mines at Fahlun, where he wished the experiment to be tried.¹ It is not known that the trial ever took place, but Swedenborg afterwards published his improved method in the volume on Copper of his *Opera Philosophica*.

In the spring of the following year, 1723, we find Swedenborg reporting himself to the Royal College of Mines as ready to enter regularly upon the duties of the College, from which he had been so long debarred by his journeys and labors in Sweden and abroad. The College was ready to welcome him to their sittings, by virtue of his old appointment ; but meanwhile there had been new appointments of Ordinary Assessors, and a question arose as to Swedenborg's proper rank. On its being referred to him, he readily consented to take his seat at the foot of the Board at that time, but with the condition that thereafter he should be in the line of promotion with the rest. Thenceforward he became an active member of the College, attending its meetings with diligence, save when abroad or occupied at the sessions of the Diet. For now, in this same winter and spring of 1723, Swedenborg seems first to have become an active member of the Diet, in which he had become entitled to a seat, as the head of his house, on its ennoblement in 1719. It does not appear that he ever distinguished himself as a debater, neither his taste nor his strength lying in that direction. But, always alive to what concerned the welfare of his country, he did not fail to have decided convictions on important questions, which he was in the habit of expressing in the form of memorials laid before the Diet. The earliest of these which has been preserved, probably the first that he presented, bears the date of Feb. 5, 1723, being read on the 7th. Its subject is the state of the

¹ At Fahlun is the largest copper mine of Sweden, which was worked before the Christian era, and at one time yielded five thousand tons a year. Gustavus Vasa earned his bread in this mine when driven from his throne.

finances in Sweden, and its doctrine is that of the wisest statesmen to the present day. The opening paragraph is as follows :—

“The chief cause of a country’s increase in wealth is the balance of commerce : if its imports are greater than a country can pay with its own products, it follows that it loses annually considerable sums by leaving them in the hands of foreign nations ; besides, it diminishes the capital which it collected under more favorable circumstances, and which it should hand down to posterity. As soon also as a country, by an imprudent course, suddenly falls into poverty, it unavoidably sinks in the estimation of other nations, and they refuse any longer to trade with it, although in former times they may have enriched themselves by its wealth and sucked out its substance and marrow. Yea, more serious consequences still may ensue ; for unless a watchful eye is kept on the balance of a country’s trade, a general want may be caused thereby which makes itself felt in the private circumstances of every one ; fortunes and possessions in the land are diminished in value ; no means are forthcoming for the support of the navy and army ; the defence of the country becomes weak and impotent ; the public servants must be satisfied with small salaries ; manufactures and agriculture, together with all the moneys invested in them, depreciate in value ; besides other contingencies which, in such a case, overtake the higher as well as the lower ranks, and especially the business men, who must suffer most heavily from it.”

He then presents two computations, the first showing the average imports and exports during the reign of Charles XI., when Swedish commerce was most flourishing ; and the second showing the balance of trade at the time of the memorial. In the first case the balance of exports was four and a half million florins in favor of Sweden, and in the second case the balance was from two and a half to three millions against the country. “From which,” he says, “it follows that the rich products of Sweden are no longer sufficient to

pay the excess of imported goods and merchandise, but that annually a part of the cash property of the country has to be employed to adjust the difference. . . . As every one now is left in freedom to express his well-meant thoughts, and to suggest how the common-weal is likely to be best helped, it is hoped that it will not be unfavorably received if I insist, in all humility, that there is nothing the present Diet can do of greater importance than to examine, and to assist and promote, all propositions which have for their purpose to infuse new life into Swedish commerce, so as to make our balance even ; and this for the sake of the private welfare of every one of us, and also for that of our whole posterity." Next he shows that Sweden has lost, first, the revenues formerly derived from various provinces that have been conquered by Russia and Denmark ; second, the freighting business which she formerly enjoyed, but which, during her wars and by the decay of her shipping, has gone into foreign hands ; third, her former profitable commerce with the now lost provinces. Finally, he points out Swedish iron and copper mining interests as the most important in the balance of trade, and most worthy of attention, and concludes with recommending careful inquiry how the mercantile marine may be built up, unnecessary importation checked or cheapened, and domestic manufactures developed and protected.

On the 18th of the same month, Swedenborg memorializes the Diet against the rule and law of the country which requires the mining of a baser metal to give way to that of a more noble, even when, as he shows, the mining of the baser, by its greater abundance, may be many-fold more valuable.

In the following May he had occasion to present another and longer memorial to the same purport, in consequence of instructions given by the Diet to the Royal College of Mines to pay special attention to the mining of silver and copper. He showed that the yearly production of iron in Sweden was equivalent to fifty tons of gold, and that of copper was equivalent to less than fifteen tons. While, then, he would have

the copper mines cherished and protected, he would not have it done at the expense of the iron mines. Yet he seems to have been opposed in these common-sense views by his own colleagues of the Royal College of Mines, on what ground we do not know.

About the same time he presented another memorial to the Diet, setting forth the fact that Swedish iron was then exported in pigs to Holland, whence it was re-shipped inland to Liège and Sauerland, where it was puddled and rolled into bar or sheet-iron, then carried back to Holland and exported at great profit to various countries. This profit, he declares, with small expense and industry might be kept at home. He accompanies his memorial with drawings and details of the puddling furnaces and rolling-mills abroad, and simply submits the expediency of encouragement by the Government to those who will undertake the manufacture in Sweden.

The treatment which this eminently reasonable and practical memorial received at the hands of the Diet and the Royal College of Mines goes far to convince us that Swedenborg had reason to complain of the want of response to his genius in his own country and home. "This memorial was read before the Committee on the business of the Diet, April 20, 1723; by them it was referred to the Committee on Mining and Commerce, where it was read May 7th. By the Diet it was referred to the King, by whom it was submitted to the Royal College of Mines and to that of Commerce, Aug. 10, 1725. It arrived in the Royal College of Mines, Aug. 23, 1725, and was filed for future reference, Sept. 1, 1726." In the course of three years and a half, a matter which would properly have commended itself for instant action is filed away for future reference! So slow were the Swedes to manufacture the "Swedes iron," now in demand throughout the world.

In September, 1723, Swedenborg asks of the Royal College of Mines to delay granting a privilege to Colonel Wollan

for a new process of making steel, until an improved process can be tried that he has himself learned from Vienna.

On the 30th of October he begs for leave of absence to attend to some private affairs in the country, inasmuch as he has been obliged during the session of the last Diet, since the beginning of the year, to remain constantly at Stockholm, and has thereby neglected some of his private affairs. The leave was granted on condition that he should first report to the President of the College; and he went to Axmar to rebuild a furnace for himself and his aunt, Brita Behm, which had been destroyed by the Russians. From this petition for leave of absence, and from the records of the College showing his constant attendance, it would appear that Swedenborg was now on the usual footing of Ordinary Assessors, so far as regular attendance was concerned. And in April of the next year, 1724, it appears that the College applied to the King, requesting that the usual salary of Bergmaster, or Mining Master, be paid him in place of Assessor Benzelstierna, who now succeeded to a full salary. In accordance with this request a royal warrant was issued on the 15th of July, appointing "the well-born Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg" an "Ordinary Assessor in the Royal College, with a salary of eight hundred dalers in silver." And again in June, 1730, the King graciously assents that Assessor Swedenborg, who has hitherto enjoyed only a salary of eight hundred dalers in silver, the salary of Master of Mines at Fahlun, should succeed to the full salary¹ of an Ordinary Assessor, in place of another Assessor who had been promoted to be Councillor.

For ten years, from 1723, Swedenborg appears to have been busily employed in the Diet and the Royal College of Mines, leaving no other record of his labors than the frequent appearance of his name in the routine business of the College, from which it would appear that he was in constant attendance, save when absent on tours of inspection of mines, forges, forests, etc. Of this period of his life we have no diary

¹ This full salary was twelve hundred dalers in silver, — about \$225.

and no private letters, nothing but the brief public documents to which we have alluded. That he was all the time strengthening his powers of mind by labor, and pursuing his studies with diligence, we have evidence in the works which in 1733 he was ready to publish.

Early in this year he respectfully asked leave of absence from the King, for nine months, in order that he might repair to Dresden and put to press his *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. The Royal College of Mines, being asked its opinion, indorsed the petition, as "it is well known to the College that he has, with commendable industry, perseverance, and care, written much pertaining to mining which is useful and which the College would very much like to see printed."

The royal assent was graciously granted, April 17, 1733.

"In the month of May," he writes, "I again by royal permission travelled by Ystad to Stralsund, and through Anclam and Berlin to Dresden; and thence to Prague and Carlsbad in Bohemia, where I visited the mines. Afterwards I went back to Prague, thence by Eule to Dresden, and from Dresden to Leipsic. In Leipsic I saw through the press my *Principia Rerum Naturalium*, and my *Regnum Subterraneum de Ferro et Cupro*, in folio; together with my *Prodromus Philosophiæ Ratiocinantis de Infinito*, etc.

"From Leipsic I went afterwards to Cassel, and over all the mines between that town and Schmalkalden. I then rode through Gotha to Brunswick and thence to Hamburg; and finally returned to Stockholm by way of Ystad. I reached home in July, 1734, about the opening of the Diet.

"It would be too prolix to mention all the learned men I visited, and with whom I became acquainted during these journeys, since I never missed an opportunity of doing so, nor of seeing and examining libraries, collections, and other objects of interest."

Nevertheless our traveller kept a diary of this journey, which is preserved, and is interesting to read in its particular

description of what he found to attract his attention. We will draw from it only what throws light on his own character and pursuits. Nothing escapes his notice that concerns the welfare of the people among whom he travels, and nothing of which his own countrymen might learn to their advantage. On the way to Dresden he read a small book on the timber worm and its devastations in ships and piles. He details the various remedies that have been proposed, and concludes in favor of extending to piles the charring already practised by the Portuguese with their ship bottoms.

At Dresden he notes, "*June 14-19*. I read through and corrected my *Principia*.

"*June 21 (July 2)*. To-day I entered the chapel attached to the Court of the Duke of Saxony, with the view of being present at worship, which is celebrated according to the Catholic ritual. It was impossible for any of the senses not to derive from it some sensation of pleasure.

"The sense of hearing derived pleasure from the drums, flutes, and trumpets, which swelled their notes from the lowest to the highest, and still more from the singing of the eunuchs, whose voices emulate those of maidens, and from the full harmony of all the instruments.

"The sense of smell is charmed by the scent and fragrance of the burning incense ; the odor and smoke of which are diffused in every direction by boys.

"The sense of sight was impressed by the paintings of every kind which are hung around the church ; by the magnificent vestments with which the priests and monks are adorned, and in which they move in procession ; by the great number of ministering priests bending and walking in every direction like actors, and by their various gestures. And my sight in particular was charmed, because I happened to see for the first time the Duke himself and the Duchess, with their sons and daughters,—all of whom were most devout and attentive to the usages of their religion.

"The interior senses, too, were charmed, because all things

breathed an atmosphere of sublimity and sanctity ; because at the least sound of a little bell all threw themselves on their knees ; and because all things were expressed in Latin, a foreign language, by which the minds of the common people are wont to be most impressed. In short, the worship of the Roman Catholic Church seems to have been especially invented, and to be calculated, to charm the external senses, by alluring all the organs of the body, and so offering blandishments to the senses."

The double date of this entry was owing to the change from the old to the new style, which had not been adopted in Sweden when he left. From this time Swedenborg adopts the new style.

At Dresden he makes copious notes of philosophical treatises that he reads, and of museums and various manufactures that he visits. In Bohemia he pays special attention to mining and forging operations, of which he gives minute accounts. At Carlsbad he is struck by the same characteristics of Catholic worship as at Dresden.

"*August 16.* I was in the Roman Catholic Church at Carlsbad, where I witnessed their worship, or their celebration of the Mass, and where I observed that all things were most delightful, or suited to all the senses. For the ear they had the very best instrumental harmony, having instead of the singing of the people the completest instrumental music. The eye beheld various sports ; the gestures of boys, as well as of others, who were burning lamps and wax-tapers ; the magnificent vestments of the priests and of boys similarly arrayed ; everything in the light of these lamps shone with gold and silver. The sense of smell was regaled with the richest fragrance, with which the altar or the sanctuary was perfumed. For the sense of touch there was the water with which the priest on entering sprinkled the people. The interior sense was struck with the priest's reverence for the Supreme Being, by his innumerable genuflections, and by those of the boys. The taste alone was left ungratified,

except by what the priest, the participant in all these pleasures, could derive from the wine, which he alone drinks. These holy things of worship are formed for the pleasure of the external senses, and they are pleasing to the public generally, because with them the external senses are the channels through which the remembrance of the Supreme Being has first to enter."

We note with interest these first impressions of Swedenborg in regard to the outward worship of that Church whose interior state and doctrine he was afterwards to expose. On the 4th of September he arrived at Leipsic, and immediately began to arrange for the printing of his *Opera Philosophica*, under the patronage and at the expense of the Duke of Brunswick. On the 5th of October he notes, "A beginning has been made with the printing of the *Principia*. Six sheets were printed this week. May Heaven favor it!"

Remaining now quietly at Leipsic, probably till March, 1734, Swedenborg's diary is suspended. He is busily engaged in seeing through the press his *Principia*, with the succeeding volumes on the mining and working of iron and of copper and brass. Probably also he availed himself of intervals of leisure and opportunities to pursue the study of human anatomy. We have seen that as early as 1719 he had written an essay on the "Anatomy of our most Subtile Nature, showing that our Moving and Living Force Consists of Tremulations," in preparation for which he says that he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the anatomy of the nerves and membranes. While at Dresden, on the present journey, he notes with interest the published observations of some Italian students of anatomy. Interspersed between leaves of his Itinerary are found notes and essays on various philosophical subjects, some of them perhaps of somewhat later date, on "The Magnet," "The Proper Treatment of Metals," "The Motion of the Elements," "Comparison of Christian Wolff's Ontology and Cosmology with our own *Principia*," "The Mechanism of the Soul and the Body;"

and, later, notes of a series of his own observations on the anatomy of the body. It is to be remarked here that from the first his studies in anatomy, afterwards greatly extended, seem to have had for their end a knowledge of the soul and of its mode of action in the body. Perhaps even a still higher end is hinted at in a paragraph on Faith in Christ, found among the above-mentioned notes.

The *Principia* and its two companion volumes, called together *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, crowned Swedenborg's mechanical and metallurgical studies. The three handsome folio volumes, of four hundred to five hundred pages each, were prefaced with an excellent engraving of the author, and a complimentary dedication to Ludwig Rudolph, Duke of Brunswick, patron of learning.

The late Rev. Augustus Clissold, the learned translator of the first of these volumes, says in his Preface, "The object of the *Principia* is to trace out a true system of the World ; and in so doing the author has distributed his subject into three parts.

"The First Part treats of the origin and laws of motion, and is mostly devoted to the consideration of its first principles ; which are investigated philosophically, then geometrically, their existence being traced from a first natural point down to the formation of a solar vortex, and afterwards from the solar vortex to the successive constitution of the elements and of the three kingdoms of nature. From the first element to the last compound, it is the author's object to show that effort or conatus to motion tends to a spiral figure ; and that there is an actual motion of particles constituting a solar chaos, which is spiral and consequently vortical.

"In the Second Part the author applies this theory of vortical motion to the phenomena of magnetism, by which on the one hand he endeavors to test the truth of his principles, and on the other by application of the principles to explain the phenomena of magnetism ; the motion of the magnetical effluvia being as in the former case considered to be vortical.

“In the Third Part the author applies the same principles of motion to Cosmogony, including the origination of the planetary bodies from the sun, and their vortical revolutions until they arrived at their present orbit ; likewise to the constitution and laws of the different elements, the motions of all which are alleged to be vortical ; likewise to the constitution and laws of the three kingdoms of nature, the animal, vegetable, and mineral : so that the entire *Principia* aims to establish a true theory of vortices, founded upon a true system of corpuscular philosophy.”

We shall have something more to say of this *Principia* when we come to review our author's philosophical studies. Of the other two volumes of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, on iron and on copper, there is little to be said of general interest, since they are practical treatises on the mining and working of these metals. In his own preface Swedenborg says,—

“I intend to distribute the treatise upon each metal, as here upon iron, into three divisions. The first division will comprise the processes and methods of smelting, particularly, that are in use in various parts of Europe ; and as the methods in vogue in Sweden have come more under my own observation than those employed in other countries, so I dwell upon them longer in proportion. The second division will give the various methods of assaying ; by which the ore is tried in small fires, or assaying furnaces, and its composition examined, in order that it may be the better proceeded with on a great scale. The third division will embrace an account of all the different chemical processes that have fallen under my notice, with the characteristics of each ; and will deliver numerous experiments and observations which have been made on one and the same metal in the course of solution, crystallization, precipitation, and other chemical changes.”

The great learning and practical value of the volumes on metallurgy were at once admitted. The Academy of Sciences at Paris translated and published the treatise on iron. In

England the work was cited as of the highest authority. In Russia its author was elected corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences ; and at home he became Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences.¹ Fifty years after its publication, on the report of a commission to the unfortunate Louis XV., that there did not yet exist any theory of the magnet, the Marquis de Thomé responded indignantly and at length, declaring that the *Opera Philosophica* of Swedenborg was held in high esteem in all Europe, and that the most celebrated men had "not disdained to draw materials from it to assist them in their labors ;" that "the theory of the Swedish author is a true theory of the magnet, and of all magnetism ;" and that M. Camus, who performed such surprising things with the magnet before their eyes, admitted that he had "derived from this author almost all the knowledge he exhibited on the subject." To this we may add that some practical electricians of the present day are finding in this theory explanations of results which they do not find explained by any other.

In January of this year, 1734, Swedenborg, for the sake of gaining more time for the *Opera Philosophica*, had sent to the Royal College of Mines the following request, which was granted : —

"LEIPSIĆ, January 19, 1734.

"Most well-born Baron and President, and also well-born and esteemed Councillors of Mines and Assessors,— As at the close of next February the leave graciously granted me by his Royal Majesty expires, I feel constrained in great humility to ask the most well-born President and most honorable College for a prolongation of my leave of absence for a few months ; because that time will be most important to me, as

¹ Professor Schleiden said that, if one should undertake to enumerate all the improvements which Swedenborg introduced into the working of the mines of his country, he would not find an end, and what he had merited from the business and arts of Sweden could not be told. MATTER: *Swedenborg, sa Vie, etc.* p. 40.

I am at last under way with the press-work, and fully at work, and as I am assured, and find by the preparations that have been made, that I shall have finished it by the coming Easter ; but, in order to accomplish this in the manner it ought to be done, it is indispensable that I should remain on the spot. Besides, it would be almost impossible for me to start for home during the present or the coming month ; and the state of my health will not permit me to make so long a journey as would have to be made by Hamburg, Copenhagen, and thence onwards, during the winter season. If I should obtain from the well-born Baron and President and the most honorable College this extension of my leave of absence, there might likewise be granted me the permission, for which I pray with the same humility, that on account of some private affairs I might make from here a tour to Lüneburg and Cassel ; and as I shall require for this purpose four or five weeks only, I hope that I may return early in the coming summer, with all my work done, and may be able to pay my respects to the well-born Baron and President, and to the most honorable Royal College.

“I remain, with profound respect, most well-born Baron and President, and most honorable Royal College, your most humble servant,

“EMAN. SWEDENBORG.”

We must pardon to the manners of the country and of the time, what strikes our ears as excess of compliment and servility. We shall presently find how much more grateful to Swedenborg himself was the republican simplicity he found in Holland.

From the records of the Royal College of Mines, it appears that Swedenborg was at his post, examining candidates for the position of Assay Master, on the 4th of July, 1734, and was constant in his attendance on the duties of the College, save a few days' absence from illness and from attendance on the Diet, until the middle of January, 1736.

At that time he, with his brother-in-law Lars Benzelstierna, begged and obtained leave from his Royal Majesty to be absent several weeks to attend the burial in West Gothland of their father, Bishop Swedberg. On his return he was in attendance at the College until the last of May, when he again petitioned the King in the following terms :—

“Most mighty and most gracious King,—I thank your Royal Majesty most humbly for the great favor you conferred upon me several years ago, in graciously granting me leave of absence, by which I was enabled to spend about a year abroad, and to see through the press a work on which I was then engaged. I had the honor of humbly presenting to your Royal Majesty that work, which consisted of instructions and descriptions in metallurgy, and also of some new principles in philosophy. But as that work was only a beginning and a part of what I had intended to work out more fully, as I had announced and promised in my former work, I therefore feel bound to do what I have promised, and to accomplish what has been begun ; and I am obliged for this purpose to employ all possible diligence to bring it to a successful issue. But as from my own experience I see clearly that it is impossible for me to fulfil this promise, or to elaborate a work requiring great thought and diligence with that coherence and accuracy which it demands, and at the same time to apply my time and thoughts to public occupations and to my official duties at the Royal College to which I am bound in duty to attend ; and as this very impossibility prevents my doing justice to both these kinds of work, as the work which in all humility I mentioned above requires long and deep thought, and a mind unincumbered with cares and troubles,—therefore, because I am bound to fulfil my promise, I have been induced to beg of your Royal Majesty that, to enable me to follow out this design and this well-intentioned purpose, and on account of the great extent of this work, you would graciously grant me leave to absent myself during three or four years from the public duties in your Majesty's

Royal College of Mines, and that you would allow me during that time, while I elaborate and finish my work, to stay abroad in any place where I may most conveniently carry on my work,—that is, where I may find all necessary help in libraries and may profit by conferences with the learned, and where also I may publish my work when it is finished, which cannot be done at home in this country. I meanwhile entertain the hope that this work will probably be of use to the public, and that it will leave at least the effect upon the common opinion among the learned that there are some in our dear native land who can elaborate and publish some things for the general good in science and literature, upon which other nations pride themselves in comparison with ourselves.

“I feel so much more assured in all humility of the most gracious assent of your Royal Majesty, inasmuch as your Majesty’s and the country’s College of Mines will, at your Royal Majesty’s gracious command, make an humble proposition to you in what way the whole matter may be best accomplished, without any part of your Royal Majesty’s service being neglected.

“I remain, to the hour of death, most gracious King, your Royal Majesty’s most humble and faithful servant and subject,

“EMAN. SWEDENBORG.”

On this petition his Majesty graciously desired the opinion of the Royal College of Mines. After the letter had been read, Swedenborg explained in a few words, that, for the sake of finishing the work he had commenced, he required to be free and away from his official duties for three or four years, even as he had mentioned in his humble petition to the King; and, as he was well aware of the importance of having these duties attended to meanwhile by an able and experienced man, well acquainted with them, he desired to give up half his salary, or six hundred dalers in silver, and agreed not to claim this back after his return, until some vacancy

should arise. He further desired that this portion of his salary might be employed under the direction of the Royal College, increasing the pay of those next in order, according to their services and the trouble they might undergo ; and that he himself might upon his return have his seat and vote in the College again.

In addition to these verbal explanations Swedenborg submitted the following letter to the College :—

“STOCKHOLM, May 26, 1736.

“I thank the most honorable Royal College most humbly, for having taken into consideration the arguments and motives contained in the petition which I handed in all humility to his Royal Majesty, and which have induced me in all humility to apply for leave of absence for three or four years, during which time I might absent myself from my duties in the Royal College, and employ my time in elaborating a useful work which will be a continuation of the previous one, published three years ago. I presume the Royal College understands fully that in this matter I have no other object and no other end in view but simply to elaborate the above-mentioned work ; and the Royal College probably entertains so much less doubt on this subject, because I have the good fortune of having been known in the Royal College for so many years ; moreover, the former work may serve as a proof of what I accomplished during that journey, from which I had nothing but trouble and expense, and the only pleasure which I experienced being that which I felt when the work was brought to a close. In order that the business at the Royal College may be in no wise interfered with during my absence, and that no inconvenience may arise therefrom, I leave half of my salary at the disposal of those who perform the service. I hope that the Royal College will allow me to retain the other half, in consideration partly of the well-intentioned and useful design I have in view, and partly because I have been an Assessor in the Royal College for

twenty years. It will both cheer me on and be an assistance in my proposed undertaking, which will be sufficiently expensive.

“EMAN. SWEDENBORG.”

In accordance with this request, on a favorable report from the College of Mines, Frederic, by royal decree of June 1st, granted the desired leave of absence, with the continuance of half his salary, and provision that on his return to the College he should be entitled to his former seat and vote. From the records of the College it appears that Swedenborg was present at its meetings until the 8th of July, and that on the 10th he took his leave, not returning till November, 1740. From his minutes of travel we extract a few notes.

“*July 3.* I took leave of their Majesties at Carlsberg. They were very gracious.

“Between the 3d and 10th of July, I took leave of the members of the Diet, my friends and others; and on the 9th, of the members of the Royal College.

“*July 10.* In the afternoon at two o'clock I left Stockholm.

“*July 12.* Upon arriving at Linköping I spent a day and a night with Bishop Benzelius and my sister, Anna Swedenborg.

“*July 18.* I was in the church on Christianshavn. Divine service differs from that of the Swedish Church only in a few ceremonials. The clergyman has a stiff ruffed collar lined with black; the blessing was pronounced from the pulpit; two large candles burned on the altar on account of the communion which was solemnized. The warden invested the clergyman with the communion garments while he was standing before the altar. There were no epitaphs or ornaments in the church; only the organ and an altar-piece. The offertory was not collected in bags as in Sweden, but in little boxes, four of which were handed round.

“[In the Public Garden] the most interesting object is the plantation of orange-trees, consisting of one hundred and

sixty trees, not planted in tubs, but growing freely in the ground without being transplanted; together with laurels, cypresses, and other trees. During summer the windows and roof are removed, and the trees are under the open sky; in the autumn they are again enclosed.

"*July 20.* From noon till evening I was at the house of Mr. Schutenhjelm [the Swedish ambassador]. I learned that among those most celebrated for their learning in Copenhagen are Kramer, the Councillor of Justice and Librarian, who is distinguished for history and philology; Professor Holberg, who has written Danish comedies and a history of Norway; and Rosencrantz, the Privy Councillor and Prime Minister. The learned have spoken favorably of my work. The same day I saw Wolff's¹ *Natural Theology*, in which, without mentioning my name, he seems to refer to me.

"*July 21.* I made excerpts from Wolff's *Ontologia* and *Cosmologia*, of those parts which I shall need on the way, in order to examine more thoroughly his first principles of philosophy.

"*July 22.* In company with Secretary Witt I was at the Library, which is magnificent and excellently arranged. . . . It consists of seventy thousand volumes: the octavo volumes are at the top, where access is obtained by a gallery running round the interior. They showed me Cicero's work printed at Mayence in 1456, which is supposed to be the first book ever printed: they showed me also my own work, but without knowing I was its author.

"*August 2.* I called [at Hamburg] upon Pastor Christopher Wolf, of St. Catharine's Church. He showed me a collection of original letters from learned men, filling sixty volumes in folio and quarto. He showed me also an autograph collection of the names of more than a thousand learned men; likewise manuscripts in the Oriental languages. The collection of letters he obtained from Schminkius, a burgomaster of Frankfort."

¹ Johann Christian von Wolff: Professor at Halle.

In reference to this call on Christopher Wolf, we have the following note from Wolf to Benzelius, dated Sept. 1, 1736 :

"I received recently your most welcome letter, which was handed to me by your relative, the most noble Swedenborg, who was known to me by name already. I value his most celebrated work in mineralogy so much the more, because in the present age scarcely any one can be compared with this most excellent and clear-headed man in this department."

"*August 8.* I was in several churches. There are five of them, besides the Calvinistic Reformed and the Roman Catholic churches.

"*August 10 and 11.* I studied matters connected with ontology ; took a view of the situation of the town ; inspected its ramparts, and saw everything else that was interesting.

"*August 17.* From Naarden I came by canal-boat to Amsterdam, where I took lodgings in the 'Vergoude Leuwen,' or the Golden Lion, not far from the Exchange. In Amsterdam I stayed until the evening of the 20th. . . . The whole city breathed nothing but lucre.

"*August 21.* . . . I here [at Rotterdam] considered why it was that it has pleased our Lord to bless such an uncouth and avaricious people with such a splendid country ; why He has preserved them for such a long time from all misfortunes ; has caused them to surpass all other nations in commerce and enterprise ; and made their country a place whither most of the riches not only of Europe but also of other places flow. The principal cause seems to me to have been that it is a republic, wherein the Lord delights more than in monarchical countries ; as appears also from Rome. The result is that no one deems himself obliged and in duty bound to accord honor and veneration to any human being, but considers the low as well as the high to be of the same worth and consequence as a king and an emperor ; as is also shown by the native bent and disposition of every one in Holland. The only one for whom they entertain a feeling of veneration is the Lord, putting no trust in flesh ; and when the Highest is

revered most, and no human being is in His place, it is most pleasing to the Lord. Besides, each enjoys his own free-will, and from this his worship of God flows ; for each is as it were his own king, and rules under the government of the Highest ; and from this it follows again that they do not, out of fear, timidity, and excess of caution, lose their courage and their independent rational thought, but in full freedom and without being borne down they are able to fix their souls upon, and elevate them to, the honor of the Highest, who is unwilling to share His worship with any other. At all events, those minds that are borne down by a sovereign power are brought up in flattery and falsity ; they learn how to speak and act differently from what they think ; and when this condition has become inrooted by habit, it engenders a sort of second nature, so that even in the worship of God such persons speak differently from what they think, and extend their flattering ways to the Lord Himself, which must be highly displeasing to Him. This seems to me the reason why they [the Hollanders] above other nations enjoy a perfect blessing : their worshipping Mammon for their God and striving only after money, does not seem to be consistent with a constant blessing ; still there may be ten among a thousand, or among ten thousand, who ward off punishment from the others and cause them to be participants with themselves of temporal blessings.¹

"August 25. . . . On our way to Brussels two Franciscan monks were on the canal-boat : one of these stood on deck for four hours in one position, and during the whole of this time said his prayers devoutly ; they probably were for those travelling in the boat. Such prayers must certainly be agreeable to God, so far as they proceed from an honest and pure heart, and are offered with genuine devotion and not in the

¹ Some seventy years earlier John Locke was similarly pleased in visiting Holland. Dugald Stewart cites him to this effect : "The blessings which the people there enjoyed under a government peculiarly favorable to civil and religious liberty, amply compensated in his view for what their uninviting territory wanted in scenery and climate."

spirit of the Pharisees ; for prayer avails much, as in the case of Moses, when the people were slain, and in other cases. Paul desired that others should pray for him."

In the Cathedral at Brussels he is struck again with the same peculiarities of the Catholic worship he had noted at Dresden. On the way through France he comments upon the absorption of the wealth by the churches, the convents, and the fat and lazy monks, whose use is a mystery to him. Arriving at Paris he notes,—

"*September 6.* I made the first draught of the introduction to my new treatise [*Economy of the Animal Kingdom*], namely, that the soul of wisdom is the knowledge and acknowledgment of the Supreme Being.

"*September 7.* . . . In the first treatise, I showed that now is the time to explore Nature from her effects.

"*September 18.* I was in the Palais and the garden belonging to it ; in the Place Royale de Louis le Grand, and in the churches of the Capuchins (Franciscans) and of the Feuillants (Cistercians) on both sides of them ; likewise in the Tuilleries, from which one enters the Louvre ; also in the Comédie des Italiens. I had a discussion also with an abbé on the adoration of saints. He denied *in toto* that this was adoration, and insisted that worship belonged to God alone ; [he was opposed] to the adoration or veneration of the saints, and to the double veneration of Mary."

Numerous observations of things that interested him were recorded in this year, 1736, but very few in the following year, when he was busy with his studies. In March, 1738, he resumed his journal of travel, setting out through Burgundy for Italy. Arriving at Venice in April he remained there at work, no doubt in anatomical studies, until August. Passing August and September in Padua, Verona, Florence, Leghorn, and Pisa, he reached Rome September 25th, where he found abundant objects of interest, many of which he described at length. In the middle of February, 1739, he went again to Florence. In the middle of March he was at Genoa, admir-

ing the early bloom and the ripe oranges, lemons, and olives. Here his journal is interrupted, but from a letter addressed to him by his brother-in-law it appears that he arrived in Paris the middle of May. A year and a half later, Nov. 3, 1740, we find him just returned to his seat in the Royal College of Mines, having published meanwhile at Amsterdam his *Œconomia Regni Animalis* [the "Economy of the Animal Kingdom"] in five hundred and eighty-two quarto pages, and having brought home a large volume of manuscript notes, under the title of "Various Philosophical, Anatomical, and Itinerary Matters," a portion of which have since been printed. In these works we find Swedenborg's mind undergoing portentous development. From a devotee of practical science, he is now becoming a master in philosophy. From delving in mines, constructing forges and furnaces, and settling disputes among miners, we find him pressing up the avenues that lead to the soul, constructing philosophic methods, and resolving in new ways the great mysteries of existence.

This development cannot surprise us, in view of the strong tendency shown from his youth to philosophize and seek the hidden causes of things, and in consideration of the rightful tendency of maturing thought to seek what is higher and more essential. What most surprises us is that Swedenborg himself should have been so unconscious that his new direction of thought was in the line of permanence; that he should have regarded it as an episode, though one of supreme urgency, from which he would soon return to his legitimate field of metallurgic science. But this all goes to show, what he saw later, that he was being prepared from youth for a work which he did not foresee, by a Power of which he saw but the shadow, after it had passed by.

CHAPTER VI.

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES.

LET us bestow a little consideration on the part given to Philosophy in the order of the Divine Providence. The simple, perfect relation of God to man is best exemplified in that of the father to the child. Such was it at the beginning, when mankind was in its cradle. Such, we are assured, it must be again with us, before we can enter into our Father's kingdom. In this relation what God loves man to do, that man loves to do ; and there is perfect conjunction. But this involves free-will implanted in man,—without which there could be no reciprocity and no conjunction. Will, again, requires an understanding, for the ventilation and purification of its motive, as the heart requires lungs. As the will is free, so the understanding also is free. As, however, the heart is closed to all but its own life-blood, so the will is closed to all but its own cherished motive : while, as the lungs are open to every breath, from whatever quarter, so the understanding is open to thoughts from every source ; and as in the lungs the blood has the opportunity to select whatever it wants from the air inhaled, and to part with whatever it would be rid of, so in the understanding the motive of the will may be refreshed and purified.

While the will is satisfied in infantile simplicity to receive its motive from the parent Divine will, the understanding is equally satisfied with the wisdom that makes one with it and flows concordantly with it from its Divine origin. But when the will seeks the indulgence of a motive of its own, it impels the understanding to seek ideas that favor the motive ; and both the one and the other stray wild. What now does the

Divine Providence? It cannot force the will; that would destroy its freedom. It does not force the understanding; but it places before it instruction, evidence, from which it may conclude what is right, what is good, what is expedient to will and to do. Thereby in time is born successively a sense of necessity, a sense of expediency, a sense of duty; and then a willingness, increasing to desire, to control the natural will, and in the end to accept again in its place the Divine will. Thus the child becomes a youth, a man, and again a child of the Kingdom. Thus the human race has been infant, child, boy, and is now man in the midst of his struggle; learning by now bitter now happy experience, by philosophy and by revelation, the necessity and the eventual happiness of becoming child again.

For the instruction of His people through 'this long wandering, God gives them a perfect Revelation of Himself, His Love, His Wisdom, and His mighty works, first in the visible universe,—Nature; then from time to time in their own language, as they are able to understand,—written Revelation; and lastly in their own form and life,—the Incarnation: all to serve in leading and guiding them to knowledge of Him, to love for Him, and to a life in harmony and conjunction with His life. Now the true purpose of Science and of Philosophy, the end of ends, is to unfold these revelations, beginning with that of Nature, and to discover in them the mysteries of the Divine nature, of human nature, and of their true conjunction. It is Science that gathers materials, observations and experiments. It is Philosophy that seeks their hidden cause and connection, and searches for their Divine purpose. It is practice in both that trains the mind to appreciate the relations of things, and to understand the secrets of the Divine Providence; and all to the end that the heart may be brought back to love for its Maker, and to willingness to receive His will in place of its own, with the firm support of the mind's conviction that this is the highest possible good.

The first philosophic training of the mind within the compass of our civilization was brought about in Greece, beginning some six hundred years before the era when God in His Wisdom was to be made flesh, and to live among us the life designed for us,—the true human life. History shows unmistakably the purpose and the service of this philosophic training, in the reception of the Gospel. Without this training Christianity could hardly have obtained a foothold in the world.¹ There was no resting-place for it among the Jews, who crucified their Messiah. There could be none among the idolatrous savages, till these were subdued by the more civilized Greeks and Romans. Among the Greeks and Romans it found a place solely by means of the philosophic training which, beginning with Thales,—with the notion of a simple original element of all substances, assumed to be water, and passing through a dozen schools, each of which seized on some peculiar phase of existence,—came at last to the eminently reasonable, almost Christian views of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; views to which the successive schools of Philosophy are continually recurring, even to this day.

Nothing more wonderful than the theosophic and philosophic development of those three centuries, from 600 to 300 B. C., is recorded in history. It was the development of human reason, but inspired, we know not how far, by ancient Revelation, and provided by the Lord, in preparation for the reception of His Gospel. Of the remaining three centuries there is little to be said in point of philosophic progress. While the noble systems already elaborated were slowly permeating the masses, other systems arose of less importance, but with two effective ends,—the one inculcating morality as the chief good, the other sceptical, setting men's minds free from old traditions; in this respect bearing remarkable

¹ It may even be questioned whether without it could have been written the Gospel of John, "the Heart of Christ." For though the truth of the Word is Divine, it can be dictated to men and written by them only in words and thoughts familiar to them. And John did not, it is supposed, write his Gospel till after many years' experience in teaching it to the Greek mind.

analogy to the current systems in what Schwegler calls the "clearing up" period of the eighteenth century.

And the Logos was made flesh and dwelt among us. By this we understand that God revealed the Wisdom of His own Love in human form and life, that therein man might learn so much of his Maker as he can comprehend, and behold a Divine example of the perfect humanity for which he is himself created. For, in the humanity,—of power as its own, though really received from the Divine Power,—our Lord, in obedience to the Divine commands, resisted and overcame the human will, and accepted the Divine will in its place ; just as He now labors with us to help us do. It is only by study of the example thus given of perfect manhood, that we can follow in His footsteps, accept His salvation, and approximate the life for which we are designed. The sublimest feature of the life thus presented us is its perfect faith in the Divine will, and its acceptance of it in place of the natural human will. This faith, then, is our highest aspiration. But it is not given to all alike. To Thomas it was given to believe after he had seen ; but they were called blessed who had not seen, and yet had believed. There were twelve, a full number, of disciples ; and Thomas was one of them. So were there twelve tribes of Israel, and twelve times twelve thousand sealed for their Lord's kingdom ; because this kingdom is for all who will believe, whether by the intuitive faith of love or by the slow conviction of reluctant reason. For, in truth, our Lord fulfilled the Divine Word in all degrees of His humanity ; natural reason and even corporeal sense He subjected to the Divine will, reducing them all to its service, to the end that wherever we are, there He may be found, Maker and Redeemer, God-with-us. And indeed what is true of the whole together, is true in a measure of each one in particular. As the whole kingdom of our Lord embraces all phases of faith, from the highest to the lowest, and as He Himself made all these phases full and perfect in Himself, so in each one of us, all the phases need to be represented, in potentiality or possi-

bility, if not in actuality. In other words, no phase alone is anywhere complete and enduring except by the real or possible support of all other phases. With this in mind, we shall be helped to understand the phases we find in the history of the Christian Church.

Comte, followed by John Stuart Mill, recognizes in every development three stages,—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive; or, as called by Mill, the volitional, the abstractional, and the experiential. The first of these they call spontaneous and primitive, the second transitional, and the third final.

Fichte finds five periods: "I. The domination of Instinct over Reason: this is the primitive age. II. The general instinct gives place to an external dominant Authority: this is the age of doctrines unable to convince, and employing force to produce a blind belief, claiming unlimited obedience; this is the period in which evil arises. III. The Authority, dominant in the preceding epoch, but constantly attacked by Reason, becomes weak and wavering: this is the epoch of scepticism and licentiousness. IV. Reason becomes conscious of itself; truth makes itself known; the science of Reason develops itself: this is the beginning of that perfection which Humanity is destined to attain. V. The science of Reason is applied; Humanity fashions itself after the ideal standard of Reason: this is the epoch of Art, the last term in the history of our species."¹

The defect of both these schemes is that they do not comprehend the high end for which all that they include is but the preparation. They do not look to the Divine-Human type. They leave man but a reasoning animal, serving himself and not God, living his own life and not the Divine. Yet they are of interest as declaring the limit to which merely human speculation can reach, as themselves are the limit of the period of sensual reason to which they belong,—sensual reason in its two aspects: the one material, positive; the other

¹ LEWES: *History of Philosophy*, ii. 375.

intellectual, ideal ; but both appealing solely to consciousness, or sense, either physical or intellectual. With the heart and its interior perception they have nothing to do. And yet how impotent is mere intellectual reasoning to satisfy the longing of the soul, we have learned from one of its greatest masters : “ ‘ Lord, I believe : help Thou mine unbelief ! ’ Philosophical argument, especially that drawn from the vastness of the universe in comparison with the insignificance of this Globe, has sometimes shaken my reason for the faith that is in me ; but my heart has assured and reassured me that the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be a Divine Reality. The Sermon on the Mount cannot be a merely human production. This belief enters into the very depth of my conscience. The whole history of man proves it.”¹

Faith, which alone can satisfy the soul, was in the first age of the Christian Church instinctive faith. The faith of the Apostles was childlike, inspired by the sight and hearing of their Master, and by being fed at His hands. It was good, but it was not communicable to all ; it was not enduring ; it had not an ultimate foundation in human reason, whereby to withstand the assaults of the enemy. It was not a miscarriage of the Divine purpose that this faith came to grief in failure and perversion. This end was foretold to Peter, who was its representative : “ When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldst not ” (John xxi. 18).

The faith of childhood must fail, in contact with the world's temptations, and must give place to the faith of manhood, born in its vastation. The insufficiency must be learned of faith inspired by hope and fear ; and the foundations of an enduring faith, based on intelligent choice of the good and the true, must be laid in the grounds of even sensual reason. The child must go to school, and learn first from masters. The age of infancy passed, as Fichte says, into a stage of “ external dominant authority,” an “ age of doctrines un-

¹ DANIEL WEBSTER : for his tombstone.

able to convince, and employing force to produce a blind belief, claiming unlimited obedience," a "period in which Evil arises."¹

We need not lament this tyranny, under which the slaves of Rome and the half-civilized tribes of the North first learned their letters and their catechism. It was of Providence, and in due order of progress, that these were well learned and became a guiding power in the mind, before Reason began its struggle for birth and liberty. It was not, however, until the ninth century, when Charlemagne established schools among a people born for the exercise of the reasoning faculty, — himself the first pupil, — that even this school-boy knowledge was made the people's own.² No printed books as yet : the instruction was oral, and disputations were instituted ; the learner was encouraged to ask why and wherefore. Priests were still the teachers, the topics dogmas ; and the whole force of the developing reason was applied to sustain the dogmas. But the very effort invited question ; the Church at Rome took alarm, and thereafter endeavored to suppress discussion.

Happily, though it assumed to be His vicegerent, the Church did not compass all the Lord's counsels nor control His world. Before His coming in the flesh, as we have seen, He had laid the foundations of the philosophy that was to accept Him when it should be duly informed and chastened. Of His Providence this philosophy, when banished by the growing dogmatism of the Church, had found refuge in the East ; and now, when the nations were prepared for its Christian absorption and development, it was brought back into Europe by the Egyptian, the Assyrian, and the Jew. The old Greek philosophy, enriched in the courts of Syria and

¹ Appendix VIII.

² It is of interest that from the free soil of England, where the Venerable Bede had already labored to make the Scriptures known to the people, came Charlemagne's teacher and Bede's pupil, Alcuin. Bede and Alcuin were emphatically the teachers of the people, not only in the Scriptures, but in all the knowledge of the time.

Persia, whither it had fled for shelter, was brought back by the Mahometans into Spain; and in Andalusia the Arab, the Persian, the Copt, the Jew, and the Christian studied together in peace.¹ Thence by the trading Jew the Arabian philosophy, as it is called, was carried all over Europe to the starving Christian students. So of old the Lord sent ravens to feed His prophet with food that His people denied him. It is beautiful to see how the remnants of former Churches were made instrumental in providing, within the Christian Church, the foundations of the new Church that is to be the crown of all, and the tabernacle of God with men.

This was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the thirteenth, while the Church of Rome was making confession obligatory, and forbidding to the laity the use of the Sacred Scriptures in their own tongue,² Roger Bacon, true prophet of the age to come, spoke out boldly for the free search after truth under the light of the Scriptures, of mathematics, and of experiment. In the fourteenth century Wycliffe, prophet of the Reformation in religion, as Roger Bacon was of that in philosophy, denounced the Pope as Antichrist, and laid the foundation for Protestantism in the North, at the same time that the Southern heart was expressing in painting and song its yearning for a more direct communication with its Lord than could be had through the priesthood. In the fifteenth century the bold work went on, Reason forging and burnishing its weapons for the coming struggle, while Rome was

¹ In the 11th century there were in Mahometan Spain seventy public libraries and colleges in all the principal cities, the professors being munificently compensated. "Mahometanism, like Judaism, claimed all for God. It allowed no separation between the secular and the sacred; for the earth was the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and His sovereignty over all made all things sacred. It had no fear of knowledge, of science, of philosophy,—these were the avenues to self-humiliation, and self-humiliation was its goal."—REV. GEORGE MATHESON: *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity*, ii. 94.

² As early as the 5th century the common study of the Sacred Scriptures had been decried in the Church; but the first actual prohibition of their possession by the laity was enacted by the Synod of Toulouse in 1229. The Psalter was excepted, but not in the language of the people.



blindly ministering to her luxury with Greek culture, now driven from Constantinople by the Turks, and sending her merchants for gold and silver even to the New World, which Providence had reserved for the home of free thought. In the sixteenth century came the outbreak, and with it the use of the printing-press for the interchange of ideas.

In the seventeenth century, while a Swedish King saved Protestantism in Northern Europe, and our forefathers were fleeing to the savage shores of America for greater freedom of worship; while at Rome Giordano Bruno was being burned at the stake for declaring his belief in more worlds than one, and Galileo was confined in a dungeon for denying that this earth is the centre of the universe,—two powerful thinkers were trenching wide and deep, in different directions, for the exercise of human reason. Francis Bacon laid open to eager view the happy results, intellectual and material, that would follow from the pursuit of science and philosophy by *induction*, or by collating particular observations and being led by them into general laws. Descartes, on the other hand, seizing upon the consciousness of one's own existence as a starting-point, using intellectual instead of physical sense as his criterion of existence, established a system of idealism, or metaphysics, depending on *deduction* from generals to particulars. The century thus opened was immensely fruitful of scientific observations, and at the same time of both idealistic and realistic, or materialistic, thought. It was the age of Spinoza and Leibnitz, of Hobbes and Locke, who were closely followed in the next century by Berkeley and Hume, Condillac and Hartley, Christian Wolff and Immanuel Kant.

To measure our indebtedness to these great explorers of the powers, the routes, and the limits of human reason by the degree in which we now follow in their footsteps, would be as great an injustice as to measure our indebtedness to Columbus, Cabot, and Raleigh, by the degree in which we follow their routes and charts of the New World. They were pioneers on different lines of exploration whose monuments

are of lasting service, whether to warn or to beckon us on. Even when they discover but negative results, we find them all to be earnest, God-fearing men, paying their tribute to His infinity, in the confession of human inability to fathom its nature and its operation in man.¹ Scarce one of them but has confessed that the one thing of which man is most sure, beyond the fact of his own existence, is the existence of an Infinite Being. But what the Infinite is, and how related to the finite,—questions involving the nature and responsibility of the soul,—no one of them was able to show in a manner to satisfy even his own generation. On the one hand reason tended to make all nature, even human actions, the direct outcome and manifestation of the Deity. On the other hand reason tended to ignore all cognitions but the impressions of sense, attributable to physical causes.

“The grand secrets of Necessity and Free-will, of the mind’s vital or non-vital dependence on Matter, of our mysterious relations to Time and Space, to God, to the Universe, are not, in the faintest degree, touched on in these inquiries; and seem not to have the smallest connection with them. . . . Locke, himself a clear, humble-minded, patient, reverent, nay, religious man, had paved the way for banishing religion from the world. Mind, by being modelled in men’s imaginations into a shape, a visibility, . . . began to lose its immaterial, mysterious, Divine though invisible character: it was tacitly figured as something that might, were our organs fine enough, be seen. Yet who had ever seen it? Who could ever see it? Thus by degrees it passed into a doubt, a relation, some faint possibility; and at last into a highly probable nonentity. Following Locke’s footsteps, the French had discovered that ‘as the stomach secretes chyle, so does the brain secrete thought.’ And what then was religion, what was poetry, what was all high and heroic feeling? Chiefly a delusion; often a false and pernicious one. . . . In the eyes of Voltaire and his disciples, Religion was a superfluity, indeed a nuisance.”

So says Carlyle of this latter and prevailing tendency, in his essay on the *Signs of the Times*,—*The Latter Half of the*

¹ Even “David Hume, although a sceptic from his youth, was never an absolute unbeliever. He did not reject religion, natural or revealed, but he considered human reason to be incapable of forming any definite opinions on the subject.”—Rev. JOHN SINCLAIR: *Old Times and Distant Places*, p. 167.

Eighteenth Century.¹ Mr. Lewes says of the dominant systems,—

“The germinal error of Descartes was developed by Spinoza into a system from which Philosophy shrank back appalled.

“The germinal error of Locke was developed by Berkeley and Hume into systems equally repugnant to common-sense.

“The germinal error of Condillac was developed by the Sensational School, and received its logical expression in Destutt de Tracy: and Philosophy in alarm once more threw herself into the arms of the theological party.”²

The limits to natural reason thus developed, and the fact of an inner, truer perception superior to natural reason's laws, none have seen more clearly than the great philosophers themselves. Thus Locke says, in his well-known *Essay*,—

“It is plain to me that we have a more certain knowledge of the existence of a God than of anything our senses have not immediately discovered to us. Nay, I presume I may say that we may more certainly know that there is a God than that there is anything else without us” (book iv. c. 10).

Kant's results, as summed up by Lewes, are these :—

“The attempt to demonstrate the existence of God is an impossible attempt. Reason is utterly incompetent to the task. The attempt to penetrate the essence of things—to know things *per se*—to know noumena—is also an impossible attempt. And yet that God exists, that the World exists, are irresistible convictions. There is another certitude, therefore, besides that derived from demonstration, and this is moral certitude, which is grounded upon belief. I cannot say, ‘It is morally certain that God exists,’ but I must say, ‘I am morally certain that God exists.’”³

This limitation by Kant of the domain of pure reason has

¹ Mr. Carlyle appreciated the contrast to the times found in Swedenborg. In a letter to a lady, in 1852, he said, “I have made some personal acquaintance with the man, read several of his books, what biographies of him could be heard of, and have reflected for myself on the singular appearance he makes in this world, and the notable message he was sent to deliver to his fellow-creatures in that epoch. A man of great and indisputable cultivation, strong mathematical intellect, and the most pious, seraphic turn of mind,—a man beautiful, lovable, and tragical to me, with many thoughts in him, which, when I interpret them for myself, I find to belong to the high and perennial in human thought.”

² LEWES: *Op. cit.* ii. 383.

³ *Ibid.* 518.

never been confuted. In his own words, as quoted by Bolton,—

“The result of all the dialectic attempts of pure Reason not only confirms the truth of what we have already proved in our transcendental analytic,—namely, that all inferences which would lead us beyond the limits of experience are fallacious and groundless,—but it at the same time teaches us this important lesson, that human reason has a natural inclination to overstep these limits.”¹

While now on the one hand human reason was being brought to this humble confession of its own impotence in relation to Divine things, and was thus being prepared to accept intelligently the Divine guidance and instruction, on the other hand, with too large a proportion of men, it ran riot in its negative results, declaring that there was no God, no immortality, and no morality but that of enlightened selfishness. The culmination of this insanity was seen in the excesses of the French Revolution, when the Bible was burned, and Reason was enshrined in the temples as the only God; when priests declared there was no other, and guillotines were erected in “almost every town and village” for those who failed to fall down and worship the idol. Such is natural reason when seeking only its own guidance, and in reality impelled by the Evil One.

But while Voltaire gathered in England deistic argument and sceptical sneers at Christianity, Swedenborg gathered there Christian hope and materials for Christian philosophical argument. Newton was his first study on arriving in London; and Newton, while tracing the laws by which not an apple falleth but by the same Hand that holdeth the planets in their courses, was devoutly studying also written Revelation, seeking to trace in the befallings of the centuries the fulfilment of the Divine predictions of the Apocalypse, and pointing out the error of those who veiled the One God with the mist of Tri-personality. It was not, however, by these studies of New-

¹ BOLTON: *Inquisitio Philos.* p. 110. Kant claims, however, that Reason in transcending its proper field, though it can do nothing in forming definite conceptions, can do much in establishing guiding ideas.

ton, which his friends would not suffer him to publish, that Swedenborg's thoughts were directed to the same subjects ; and we refer to them only as evincing the gravitation of the true philosophic thought of the times in the same direction. But, for the force of the gravitation, let us think of the influence of the Sun of heaven to draw all to Itself.

We shall see the direction in which Swedenborg's philosophic studies were led, entered upon with entire submission to Revelation and under the earnestly sought guidance of the Divine Spirit, "even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him ; but ye know Him, for He dwelleth with you and shall be in you" (John xiv. 17). For it is only to our Lord's own disciples, who see in Him the Infinite dwelling in the finite, the Divine in the human, that the perception of interior truth, of spiritual philosophy, can be given.

It was in the height of deistical speculation, of Reason's rejection of Revelation and endeavor to find God for itself, that Swedenborg had devoted twenty years to the study of the nature and causes of the world, with all the aid of existing philosophy. Let us see the result ; and first his method, as announced in the opening sentences of his *Principia* :—

"If the mind be well connected with the organs of the senses, or, in other words, if man be truly rational, he is perpetually aspiring after wisdom. The soul is in the desire of being instructed by the senses and of continually exercising its perception from them, as from a source distinct from itself ; while the senses in their turn desire to exercise their perception from the soul, to which they present their several objects for contemplation. Thus each performs and contributes to the same common operation, and tends to one ultimate object, the wisdom of the man. For this purpose there exists a continual connection between the soul and body ; for this purpose also reason is added to the senses, and hence the desire after wisdom becomes the peculiar mark and characteristic of man : unless however he desires and

attains to a knowledge which lies beyond or above his senses, he is far from being truly rational, nor is there a due connection between the senses and the soul. The senses and their various organs can receive but grossly, and in an imperfect measure, the phenomena of the world. Now there are no animals beside man who possess any knowledge beyond that of the mere senses, and of their organs disposed in the *pia meninx* of the brain. They are unable to penetrate farther; and, from want of a more subtile and active power, cannot refer the objects presented to their senses to a higher or more distinct principle. But truly the wisdom of man cannot be said to differ from theirs, if we refer the objects or operations of the world upon our senses, not to the soul and its reason, but to the same principle as they do. The sign that we are willing to be wise is the desire to know the causes of things, and to investigate the secret and unknown operations of nature. It is for this purpose that each one consults the oracle of the rational mind, and thence awaits his answer; that is, he is eager to acquire a deeper wisdom than merely that which is proffered to him through the medium of the senses.

"But he who wishes to attain the end must wish likewise to attain the means. Now the means which more especially conduce to a knowledge truly philosophical are three in number: EXPERIENCE, GEOMETRY, and the FACULTY OF REASONING. First, then, let us ascertain whether, and in what manner, we have the power by these three means to arrive at knowledge *a priori*, or to reach in natural and physical inquiries the farthest boundaries of human wisdom" (p. 1).¹

After showing in what way these three means conduce to a philosophical knowledge of all things of this world, including hidden elements and motions, Swedenborg says,—

"When, therefore, the philosopher has arrived at the end of his studies, even supposing him to have acquired so complete a knowledge of all mundane things that nothing more

¹ The page references to the *Principia* and to other of Swedenborg's philosophical works are to the translations published in London.

remains for him to learn, he must there stop ; for he can never know the nature of the Infinite Being, of His Supreme Intelligence, Supreme Providence, Supreme Love, Supreme Justice, and other infinite attributes. He will therefore acknowledge, that, in respect to this supremely intelligent and wise Being, his knowledge is nothing : he will hence most profoundly venerate Him with the utmost devotion of soul ; so that at the mere thought of Him his whole frame, or membranous and sensitive system, will awfully, yet sweetly tremble, from the inmost to the outermost principles of its being" (p. 35).

After giving the rein to his imagination as to the condition of man in his first happy estate, when, his whole soul and body being in perfect harmony with the Divine ends, he could see these ends in himself as in a mirror, and all intelligence was open to him, Swedenborg returns to the perverted and imperfect state of man at the present day :—

"In this state we see that no complete knowledge of anything can be acquired without the use of means ; we see that nothing can penetrate to the ultimate active principle, or to the soul, except by means of continual experiments, by the assistance of geometry, and by the faculty of reasoning to be thus acquired. . . . Now corporeal pleasures, cupidities, desires, and vices of this kind have almost filled the whole man ; increasing with time, they pass from practice into habit, and from habit become completely spontaneous, so as to govern the will itself : in other words, cupidities at length take possession of the will, and withdraw it from the governance of the reasoning soul ; so that finally man is capable of scarcely any voluntary action but what proceeds from these emotions and desires, and is frequently without the consciousness of his rational principle. . . . As then these disorderly emotions of the body have occupied almost the whole man, . . . it is no wonder that at this day the faculty of reasoning is only to be acquired through the use of means, and that it is not possible to arrive by reasoning at

the most subtle substance or principle, without the aid of analytical rules, to be taught us by a master, similar to those of geometry" (p. 40).

It was in good part, no doubt, his dissatisfaction with the several theories of cosmogony advanced by Descartes, Leibnitz, and Newton, that led Swedenborg to grapple with the subject in his *Principia*; yet he did not enter into any controversy.

"In writing the present work," he says, "I have had no aim at the applause of the learned world, nor at the acquisition of a name or popularity. . . . Such things are no objects of regard to any one whose mind is bent only on truth and a true system of philosophy; should it therefore happen that I should gain the assent or approbation of others, I shall receive it no otherwise than as a confirmation of my having pursued the truth. I have no wish to persuade others to lay aside the principles of the various illustrious and talented authors who have adorned the world, and in place of their principles to adopt my own: for this reason it is that I have not made mention of so much as one of them, or even hinted at his name, lest I should injure his feelings, or seem to impugn his sentiments, or derogate from the praise which others bestow upon him. If the principles I have advanced have more of truth in them than those which are advocated by others; if they are truly philosophical and accordant with the phenomena of nature,—the assent of the public will follow in due time of its own accord. . . . Truth is but one and will speak for itself" (ii. 365).

At the conclusion, however, of the *Principia*, p. 366, Swedenborg expresses his gratification at finding the principles he had adopted confirmed by those of Christian Wolff, whose works he had just read, two years after committing his own thoughts to paper. Wolff, on his part, was pleased with the work of Swedenborg, and hastened to seek his acquaintance. With this we may contrast the alarm expressed afterwards by Kant, on finding some of his own views anticipated by

Swedenborg, whom he had known only as a mystic. Kant says,—

“The system of Swedenborg is unfortunately very similar to my own philosophy. It is not impossible that my rational views may be considered absurd by reason of that affinity. As to the offensive comparison, I declare, we must either suppose greater intelligence and truth at the basis of Swedenborg’s writings than first impressions excite, or that it is a mere accident when he coincides with my system,—a *lusus naturæ*. Such a wonderful agreement exists between his doctrines and the deepest results of reason, that there is no other alternative whereby the correspondence can be explained.”¹

The doctrines here referred to are doubtless the scientific doctrines of the *Principia*,² not the more purely philosophical, just entered upon in that work, and more fully developed in those that followed; still less the theological doctrines of a later period. When Kant purchased the *Arcana Cœlestia*, he was greatly disappointed to find that it contained only explanations of Scripture, of no interest to him.

It was a necessity for Swedenborg’s mind to advance from science, as he found it, through philosophy to a position whence he could survey the continuous stream of the Divine Providence from inmosts to outmosts. In one lifetime, for the purpose in view, there was need that he should be led through stages which, for complete development, will task many generations. It is no cause of wonder, then, that his own generation quietly laid his *Principia* and other volumes on the shelf; nor yet that there they still lie. It need be no matter of surprise if some sticks of the scaffolding with which he built shall prove untrustworthy and have to be replaced, before we can mount with him to his summit. It would be a miracle if all his anticipations of science and natural philosophy should bear the test of later development. It would be foreign to Swedenborg’s own genius and method to imagine such a result. It would amply satisfy him, and should amply satisfy all his followers, if the leading principles which he

¹ KANT: Leipzig, 1838, iii. 95.

² Probably including the Nebular Hypothesis. See Appendix IX.

deduced from the science at his command should prove substantially true under the test of ages. Yet there is to his friends a pardonable pleasure in finding one after another of later discoveries and philosophic theories to be in effect but reproductions of ideas so long quietly shelved in Swedenborg's volumes. And surely it will yet be seen to be not by mere accident that there were laid away in these Sibylline leaves mathematical demonstrations of the homogeneity of the universe ; of the nebulous origin of worlds ; of the all-pervading ether, and vortical magnetic element ; of the identical motion of atoms and worlds ; with hints at the grouping of stars in systems, at the position of our system in the milky way, and at cyclar mutation and return in order. It is simplest and easiest to believe, with our author himself, that a Spirit higher than his own led the way, and, as far as might be, kept his thoughts in harmony with eternal truth.

But though science and philosophy have been anticipated by Swedenborg, they have not hitherto been instructed by him. It may be different hereafter ; but thus far we do not follow him in the labors by which his mind was prepared to receive, as on a solid foundation, the universal, spiritual truths of faith and life. We are, in the present generation, content to enter into the fruits of his labors. By these labors he was led to the largest conception of the Divine purpose, and to the deepest conviction of the Divine presence, with sustaining, creating power, in each atom, as well as in the grand whole, of His universe. Thus it was that his mind found itself, in seeking inmost causes, awfully yet sweetly trembling, as in its Maker's presence. And in our following with him into this presence, his labors bear their fruit.

In the same year with the *Principia* Swedenborg continued his investigation of the questions of his time in his *Sketch of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite and the Final Cause of Creation ; and on the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*. In this essay his unswerving faith in Revelation is conspicuous all through ; and with it a recognition of

something higher than merely natural reason. In the Preface he says,—

“Philosophy, if it be truly rational, can never be contrary to Revelation : that is to say, if the rational principle partake of the soul more than of the body, or the reason arise from no gross corporeal instinct, whose end it tends to realize, forming the soul by use and exercise for perpetual obedience and consent thereto. . . . The end of reason can be no other than that man may perceive what things are revealed and what are created : thus the rational cannot be contrary to the Divine ; since the end why reason is given us is that we may be empowered to perceive that there is a God, and to know that He is to be worshipped. If reason be the mean, endowed with the faculty and power of perceiving, and if the actual perception be the end, then the mean, in so far as it is correctly rational, cannot be repugnant to the end. The very mysteries that are above reason cannot be contrary to reason, although reason is unable to explain their grounds.”

Then begins the first chapter thus beautifully :—

“In order that we may be favored and happy in our endeavors, they must begin from the Infinite, or God, without whom no undertakings can attain a prosperous issue. He it is that bestows on all things their principles ; from whom all things finite took their rise ; from whom we have our souls, and by whom we live ; by whom we are at once mortals and immortals ; to whom in fine we owe everything. And as the soul was created by Him and added to the body, and reason to both, in order that the soul might be His,—so our thoughts, whether we revolve them within, or utter them in words, or commit them to writing, must always be so directed as to have their beginning and end from Him ; whereby the Deity may be present with gracious favor, as the First and the Last, in either end, as well as in the means.”

Then, alluding to the desire of human reason to be convinced in order to accept theology, he shows at length the impossibility of the reason's concluding anything in regard to

the nature of the Infinite, by comparison with the finite. But, not abandoning the matter so, he proceeds to inquire as to the producing cause of what is finite, even of its first and least particular. Showing that it cannot have its existence of itself, nor of any other finite thing, since then the question would be removed but one step backward, he concludes that reason must admit an infinite producing cause. But of these there cannot be many, only One. Now, taking this Infinite as the cause of all creation, he deduces the entire variety from the same Cause, in all its order and intricacy. Then citing examples of this order and intricate beauty,—especially, in ample detail, from the construction and operation of the organs of the human body,—calling forth our admiration, he seeks to transfer this and transform it into adoration for the Deity. But this full acknowledgment, he admits, must come partly on self-evidence, springing from the human soul, and partly as a consequence from the arguments adduced.

“There is in fact,” he says (p. 46), “a tacit consent, or a tacit conclusion of the soul, to the being as well as to the infinity of God. This is dictated, I say, partly by the soul in its own free essence, partly by the soul as instructed and advised by the diverse innumerable effects presented in the world. . . . It cannot be denied that there is that in man as man, provided he enjoy the use of reason, which acknowledges an omnipotent God, an omnipresent and all-provident Deity; it seems therefore to be innate, and to be a power or action of reason, when not on the one hand troubled too much by its own ideas, nor on the other hand too destitute of all cultivation and development. But we care not whether it be spontaneous or the contrary, if it be admitted that there is no one living, provided he be not over or under rational, but acknowledges the existence of a Deity, however ignorant he be of the Divine nature. Hence it is that after man has exerted his powers and whetted his reason to find out this nature, he falls into strange darkness and ideal conclusions. He knows indeed that there is a Deity; that there is an

omnipotence ; but he has been unsuccessful in eliciting the nature of either from any dictates of reason. . . . In truth, mankind is always desirous to imagine the qualities of God ; to bring Him within the bounds of reason and rational ideas ; and to finite and fix Him in something, by something, or to something. For this reason the above investigation has all along been the issue and offspring of reason and philosophy. And though the philosophers have heard that He is infinite, yet on behalf of poor reason, which is always bounded by finite limits, they imagine the infinite as finite ; being unable to perceive at all apart from the finite. We now therefore see why reason has failed, and that the cause is the same in the common people as in the learned."

Proceeding then to point out in detail the errors of many theories, some of which it is easy to recognize, though their authors' names are not mentioned, all of which errors are owing to the judging of the infinite from the finite, he concludes that,—

"Beyond our finite sphere there are verily infinities, to the knowledge of which it is useless to aspire ; and which in the Infinite are infinitely many, and can be known to no one but the Infinite. In order that these may in some measure be conceived by the soul introduced through faith into communion with the Infinite, it has pleased God to discover by Revelation much whereby the mind can finitely conceive and express Him : not however that finite perceptions or expressions are similar or adequate to Him, but only that those made use of are not repugnant" (p. 57).

Returning to what has been granted, that the Infinite exists as the cause of the finite world, Swedenborg next questions whether or no there must be a *nexus*, or means of influence, between the Infinite and the finite. Showing by argument that a *nexus* is indispensable, he then shows that the *nexus* itself must be infinite, not finite. Assuming this to be within our knowledge by proof of reason, he asks whether, if any one can tell us more about this *nexus* which shall agree

with what we already know, we shall not listen to it? And then he alleges, what he says has been taught by Revelation, that this *nexus* is the Son of God, begotten from eternity, to be the means of communication from the Infinite with the finite. But, from what he has already shown, he declares this *nexus* itself to be infinite ; and as there cannot be two infinities, the *nexus*, or the Son of God, is none other than the Infinite, God Himself.

"To say then," he continues, "that the finite came forth mediately through the Son, is exactly tantamount to saying that it came forth immediately through the Father, or immediately through the Son ; since the Father and the Son are alike the Infinite, and the Infinite is the immediate cause of the finite" (p. 65).

Then showing that in creation there must be a Divine, or infinite, final end ; that this end is to be reached through the whole chain of creation, of which man is the last link, the crown of all,—he declares that in man, therefore, for the fulfilment of the Divine end, there must be something that can partake of the Infinite :—

"Not certainly in the fact that man is an animal, and has senses provided him to enjoy the delights of the world ; nor in the fact that he has a soul, for his soul is finite, and can contain nothing of the Infinite. Neither in reason, which is the effect of the co-operation between the soul and the body ; which, as they are both finite, so the effect of both is also finite : therefore it does not lie in reason. So far we find nothing Divine in man. Where is that, then, which appears to be nowhere, and yet is necessary to realize the Divine end? . . . It lies in this, that man can acknowledge, and does acknowledge, God ; that he can believe, and does believe, that God is infinite ; that though he is ignorant of the nature of the Deity, yet he can acknowledge, and does acknowledge, His existence,—and this without the shadow of doubt. And especially does it consist in this further privilege, that by that undoubting faith he is sensible in love, or delight

resulting from love, of a peculiar connection with the Infinite. But where he doubts, he does not acknowledge, and the Divine is not in him. All Divine worship proceeds from this fountain of faith and love. . . . Thus the true divinity in man, who is the final effect in which the Divine end dwells, is none other than an acknowledgment of the existence and infinity of God, . . . and a sense of delight in the love of God, although human reason cannot do this of itself, inasmuch as man, with all his parts and his very soul, is finite ; notwithstanding which he may be a fit recipient, and as he is in the finite sphere he may concur to dispose himself for reception" (p. 71).

Now comes the crowning effort in this argument. It being granted that the Divine sought this final return of creation to Itself, the question is asked, how it is to be secured through the various stages from first to last. The answer being given that it is to be secured by means of the soul, which from its altitude is designed to rule the body, it is asked by what means the true order is to be restored when, as must have been foreseen, the body refuses to obey the instincts of the soul and fails to serve its true purpose. And the triumphant answer is given that "God provided against this by His Infinite, only-begotten Son, who took on Him the ultimate effect of the world, or a manhood and a human shape, and thereby was infinite in and with the finite, and consequently restored the *nexus* in His own person between the infinite and the finite, so that the primary end was realized. . . . The Infinite . . . thus Himself became the last effect,—at once God and man, the Mediator between the finite and the infinite. . . . Without Him there would be no connection between the last effect and the infinite ; whereas through Him somewhat of the Divine may dwell in us, namely in the faculty to know and believe that there is a God, and that He is infinite. And again through Him, by the use of the means, we are led to true religion, and become children of God, and not of the world" (p. 79).

Observing now that this is not the place to explain the nature of the connection by the *nexus*, he stops to consider the difficulty which may be felt as to the condition of those who have not learned and believed in the Messiah. He concludes that though the coming of the Messiah is the essential means of salvation, yet "those who did not know, and do not know, that He has come, could and can become partakers, by the grace of God, through His coming; for otherwise we should suppose something in God that would seem at variance with His Divine nature and end. But as for those who know the Messiah, or have the opportunity to know Him, we say that they too are made partakers through His coming; but the knowledge also of His coming is necessary to them in order to their faith, for the quality of faith is determined by knowledge, and its perception rendered distinct and full; and therefore where knowledge is given, it and faith are inseparable" (p. 81).

In the next chapter, having settled the primary end of man to begin and end in the Infinite, Swedenborg inquires into other ends relating to this world, and finds them all to be secondary, but good and properly conducing to the primary end, and receiving their highest delight in it. He says,—

"It may therefore be said that nothing can be or exist in man, or the world, that does not tend to that one end; so that in this way there is nothing, whether dead or alive, but adores and worships God, since all things tend to obtain the Divine end in the ultimate effect. And oh! how greatly happy man would be, if he directed thither all worldly delights, and all the gifts of the mundane sphere!" (p. 83).

In this reverent doctrine we recognize the true Christian philosophy of life, equally removed from sensualism and from asceticism, and such as he taught afterwards under the light of Revelation. The summing up of our author's argument is as follows:—

"Observe what we have gained. We have the affirmation of reason for the existence of God, and also for His Infinity;

and as this is now positive knowledge, together with that other truth of the existence of a *nexus* between God and man in the Person of the only-begotten Son, so we may legitimately advance, not indeed to inquire into the nature or qualities of Deity, because He is infinite, and His qualities therefore we can never penetrate, but to inquire what there can be in man to lead to this primary end ; what there can be in him that does not repugn the infinite and the *nexus* ; how a confessedly infinite Deity may best be expressed in finite terms that shall not be repugnant to the occasion ; what befitting worship consists in ; what is the peculiar efficacy of faith proceeding from a true acknowledgment of God ; with innumerable other subjects, which cannot be settled briefly, but require to be rationally deduced in a volume by themselves. And as, by the grace of God, we have all these matters revealed in Holy Scripture, so where reason is perplexed in its apprehensions we must at once have recourse to Revelation ; and where we cannot discover from Revelation either what we should adopt or in what sense we should understand its declarations, we must then fly to the oracle of reason. In this way natural theology must proffer her hand to revealed, where the meaning of Revelation seems doubtful ; and revealed theology must lend her guidance in turn to rational theology when reason is in straits. For revealed and rational theology can never be contrary to each other, if only the latter be truly rational, and does not attempt to penetrate into the mysteries of infinity ; in which case it is not truly rational" (p. 85).

The second part of this essay on the Infinite treats of the mechanism of the intercourse between the soul and the body, evidently in pursuance of the efforts of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Locke, though treating the subject in a very different manner. Its essential feature is the careful distinction of the soul, together with the body, as finite, in contradistinction from the Infinite. From this finiteness the conclusion is drawn that the soul, as well as the body, has qualities, modes,

and parts subject to a higher geometry and mechanics, and therefore subject to investigation and knowledge. But from the approach to the Infinite in the constitution and material of the soul, the absolute conclusion is drawn that it must needs be immortal.

"The main end of these our labors," he says, "will be to demonstrate the immortality of the soul to the very senses. What is Life but the commencement, formation, and preparation of the soul for a state in which it is to live forever after the body dies? And what this formation and preparation, but the means by which the soul,—which in intrinsic subtilty, purity, and perfection, and in its capacity of receiving the Divine end, is far superior and very dissimilar to the natural body,—shall continually strive to form and bend the body to its likeness, and never suffer the latter to reverse the order, or to form and model the soul" (p. 148).

This attempt of our author seems somewhat crude to those who are familiar with his later explanations of the same subject. But if we compare it with the vague and contradictory theories of the time in which it was written, we find in it an immense step,¹—and an indispensable step in the preparation of the author's mind for the enlightenment that was soon to come.

Already in the *Principia* Swedenborg had made use, for illustration, of details in the construction and operation of the human body; and in the essays we have been noticing there are elaborate references to minute studies of the anatomy, particularly, of the brain, in search of the residence of the soul. It was in pursuit of the same end, to learn something of the soul and its Maker, of which these essays gave but preliminary intimations, that our author devoted the next ten years to anatomical and philosophical research, presenting its first fruits in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*.

¹ Appendix X.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES CONCLUDED.

THE *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* was a tentative effort, confessedly immature, to arrive at a philosophic view of the construction and operation of the human mechanism, especially as the abode and instrument of the soul. The subject, with this aim, was new ground, and therefore difficult, if not impossible, to enter upon systematically and master at the first onset. A reconnoissance in force was necessary, in order to determine in what way the final assault should be made. Such a reconnoissance we find in the "Economy":

"Our organs are opened only by degrees; the images and notions at first received are obscure, and, if I may so speak, the whole universe is represented to the eye as a single indistinct thing, a formless chaos. In the course of time, however, its various parts become comparatively distinct, and at length are presented to the tribunal of the rational mind; whence it is not till late in life that we become rational beings. In this manner by degrees a passage is effected to the soul, which, abiding in her intelligence, decrees that the way leading to her shall thus be opened, in order that all actions, and the reasons for all, may be referred to her as their genuine principle. . . . There is need of time and of further progress to render the subject clear; and moreover the doctrine of the blood, although it is the first we have to propound, is nevertheless the last that can be completed. The result, then, must show whether or not those statements which at first perhaps appear like obscure guess-work, are in the end so abundantly attested by effects as to prove that they are indeed the oracular responses of the truth" (p. 3).

"In the experimental knowledge of anatomy our way has been pointed out by men of the greatest and most cultivated talents, such as Eustachius," and nineteen others named, "whose discoveries, far from consisting of fallacious, vague, and empty speculations, will forever continue to be of practical use to posterity. Assisted by the studies and elaborate writings of these illustrious men, and fortified by their authority, I have resolved to commence and complete my design : that is to say, to open some part of those things which it is generally supposed that nature has involved in obscurity. Here and there I have taken the liberty to throw in the results of my own experience ; but this only sparingly, for, on deeply considering the matter, I deemed it best to make use of the facts supplied by others. Indeed there are some that seem born for experimental observation and endowed with a sharper insight than others, as if they possessed naturally a finer acumen. . . . There are others again who enjoy a natural faculty for contemplating facts already discovered, and eliciting their causes. Both are peculiar gifts and are seldom united in the same person. Besides, I found, when intently occupied in exploring the secrets of the human body, that, as soon as I discovered anything which had not been observed before, I began, seduced probably by self-love, to grow blind to the most acute lucubrations and researches of others, and to originate the whole series of inductive arguments from my particular discovery alone. . . . Nay, when I essayed to form principles from these discoveries, I thought I could detect in various other phenomena much to confirm their truth, although in reality they were fairly susceptible of no construction of the kind. I therefore laid aside my instruments and, restraining my desire for making observations, determined rather to rely on the researches of others than to trust to my own" (p. 7).

After describing as from experience the faculty which some enjoy,—we doubt if ever any one more than he,—of confining their attention to one thing and evolving with dis-

tinctness all that lies in it, of distributing their thoughts into classes, separating mixed topics into appropriate divisions, of skilfully subordinating the series thus divided, and of being never overwhelmed by the multiplicity of things, but continually enlightened more and more, he says of such as enjoy the faculty,—

“The fictitious depresses them, the obscure pains them; but they are exhilarated by the truth, and, in the presence of everything that is clear, they too are clear and serene. When, after a long course of reasoning, they make a discovery of the truth, straightway there is a cheering light and joyful confirmatory brightness that plays around the sphere of their mind, and a kind of mysterious radiation—I know not whence it proceeds—that darts through some sacred temple in the brain. Thus a sort of rational instinct displays itself, and in a manner gives notice that the soul is called into a state of inward communion, and has returned at that moment into the golden age of its intellectual perfections. The mind that has known this pleasure is wholly carried away in pursuit of it; and in the kindling flame of its love despises in comparison, as external pastimes, all merely corporeal pleasures; and although it recognizes them as means for exciting the animal mind and the purer blood, it on no account follows them as ends. Persons of this cast consider the arts and sciences only as aids to wisdom, and learn them as helps to its attainment, not that they may be reputed wise for possessing them. They modestly restrain all tendency to inflated ideas of themselves, knowing that the sciences are an ocean, of which they can catch but a few drops. They look on no one with a scornful brow, or a supercilious air, nor arrogate any praise to themselves. They ascribe all to the Deity, and regard Him as the source from which all true wisdom descends. In the promotion of His glory they place the end and object of their own” (p. 9).

Remarking now how sensual and worldly cares impair this noble faculty, he says, “Nothing superinduces more darkness

on the human mind than the interference of its own fancied providence in matters that properly belong to the Divine Providence." And then he goes on to say, still as from experience,—

"This faculty, however, is chiefly impaired by the thirst for glory and the love of self. I know not what darkness over-spreads the rational faculties when the mind begins to swell with pride, or when our intuition of objects calls up in the objects themselves the image and glory of our own selfhood. It is like pouring a liquor upon some exquisite wine, which throws it into a froth, sullies its purity, and clouds its translucence. It is as if the animal spirits were stirred into waves, and a tempest drove the grosser blood into insurgent motion, by which the organs of internal sensation or perception becoming swollen, the powers of thought are dulled, and the whole scene of action in their theatre changed. In those who experience these disorderly states, the rational faculty is crippled and brought to a standstill; or rather its movements become retrograde instead of progressive. A limit is put to its operations, which its possessor imagines to be the limit of all human capacity, because he himself is unable to overstep it. He sees little or nothing in the most studied researches of others, but everything — oh, how vain-glorious! — in his own. Nor can he return to correct conceptions, until his elated thoughts have subsided to their proper level. 'There are many,' says Seneca, 'who might have attained to wisdom, had they not fancied they had attained it already.' The Muses love a tranquil mind; and there is nothing but humility, a contempt of self, and a simple love of truth, that can prevent or remedy the evils we have described.

"But how often does a man labor in vain to divest himself of his own nature! How often, when ignorant or unmindful of the love that creeps upon him, will he betray a partiality to himself and the offspring of his own genius! If an author, therefore, desires that his studies should give birth to anything of sterling value, let him be advised, when he has com-

mitted to paper what he considers to be of particular merit and is fond of frequently perusing, to lay it aside for a while, and after the lapse of months to return to it as to something he had forgotten, and as the production not of himself but of some other writer. Let him repeat this practice three or four times in the year. . . . Should his writings then often raise a blush upon his countenance, should he no longer feel an overweening confidence with regard to the lines which had received the latest polish from his hands, let him be assured that he has made some little progress in wisdom" (p. 11).

After commending the ancients for their wisdom in the study of the principles of things, and again those of his own and previous times for accumulating experience, he says,—

"Thus does it seem to be the will of that Providence which rules all earthly affairs, that the one state should be succeeded by the other: that the parents should instruct the children; and that the ancients should incite their posterity to the acquisition of the experimental knowledge by which their contemplative sciences may be confirmed; and in like manner that we of the present age should stimulate the generations that follow us to work again and again in the mines of the same experience, so that they, in their turn, may attain to a deeper insight and a further progress; in fine, that various ages should cultivate various kinds of learning, in order, as it would appear, that the sciences may at last arrive at their destined perfection" (p. 13).

Referring to the stores of experimental knowledge now collected, he concludes,—

"And the time is at hand when we may quit the harbor and sail for the open sea. The materials are ready; shall we not build the edifice? The harvest is waiting; shall we not put in the sickle? The produce of the garden is ripe and ripe; shall we fail to collect it for use? Let us enjoy the provided banquet; that is to say, from the experience with which we are enriched, let us elicit wisdom. . . . But to launch out into this field is like embarking on a shoreless

ocean that environs the world. It is easy to quit the land, or to loose the horses from the starting-post ; but to attain the end or reach the goal is a labor for Hercules. Nevertheless we are bound to attempt the abyss, though as yet we must needs proceed like young birds that, with the feeble strokes of their new-fledged wings, first essay their strength, and from their nests try the air, the new world into which they are to enter" (p. 14).

Entering forthwith on his task, he adopts the following method. At the beginning of each chapter he places a collection of important observations concerning its subject, drawn from various authors. Next he compactly states his induction from these premises, as to the constitution and use of the substance or organ in the human frame. And then, clause by clause, he repeats this induction, explaining and confirming each in detail.

In the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* Swedenborg takes a grand step towards his goal ; but it is, as we have said and as he premised, a tentative step, trying his wings, and involving some of the errors of which he warned the inexperienced. It is invaluable to us as marking the manner and extent of his progress ; but its instructiveness in other respects is in a measure superseded by the author's second, more valuable essay, which soon followed. That he did not expect from contemporaries much recognition of these labors — at some variance with the scientific, experimental tendency of their time, and not less as yet with that of our own — is evident from the motto which he prefixed, from Seneca : "Paucis natus est, qui populum ætatis suæ cogitat. Multa annorum millia, multa populorum supervenient: ad illa respice, etiamsi omnibus tecum viventibus silentium. . . . [aliqua causa] indixerit: venient qui sine offensa, sine gratia judicent."¹

¹ "He is born to serve but few, who thinks of the people of his own age. Many thousands of years, many generations of men are yet to come: look to these, though for some cause silence has been imposed on all of your own day; there will come those who may judge without offence and without favor."

And again he says, in Part Second, perhaps a little self-confidently,—

“Of what consequence is it to me that I should persuade any one to embrace my opinions? Let his own reason persuade him. I do not undertake this work for the sake of honor or emolument,—both of which I shun rather than seek, because they disquiet the mind, and because I am content with my lot,—but for the sake of the truth, which alone is immortal, and has its portion in the most perfect order of nature ; hence only in the series of ends of the universe from the first to the last, which is the glory of God ; which ends He promotes. Thus I surely know Who it is that must reward me” (vol. ii. p. 210).

At the conclusion of Part First, Swedenborg gives a chapter which he styles “An Introduction to Rational Psychology,” regarding this as “the first and last of those sciences which lead to the knowledge of the animal economy.” “But whereas the soul,” he goes on to say, “lives withdrawn so far within that she cannot be exposed to view until the coverings under which she is hidden are unfolded and removed in order,—it hence becomes necessary that we ascend to her by the same steps or degrees and the same ladder by which her nature, in the formation of the things of her kingdom, descends into her body. By way therefore of an Introduction to Rational Psychology, I will premise the Doctrine of Series and Degrees,—a doctrine of which, in the preceding chapters, I have made such frequent mention, the design of which is to teach the nature of order and its rules as observed and prescribed in the succession of things. . . . As often as Nature betakes herself upwards from visible phenomena, or, in other words, withdraws herself inwards, she instantly as it were disappears, while no one knows what is become of her, or whither she is gone ; so that it is necessary to take science as a guide to attend us in pursuing her steps. Without a guide of this kind, moreover, we shall have a tendency to fall into various premature opinions ; we shall be apt to think, for

instance, that the soul, either from principles proper to herself or from such as are above herself, flows immediately into the effects of her own body; whence it necessarily follows that the communication of operations between the soul and the body must be explained either by *Physical Influx* [the doctrine of the Aristotelians], or by *Occasional Causes* [the doctrine of Descartes]; or, if by neither of these, a third is assumed as the only alternative, namely, that of *Pre-established Harmony* [the doctrine of Leibnitz].¹ Thus the one or other system flows as a consequence from our want of knowledge respecting the subordination of things, and the connection of things subordinate. . . . But whereas all things in succeeding each other follow one another in order, and whereas in the whole circle of things, from first to last, there is not a single one which is altogether unconnected or detached from the rest,—I am compelled, as I said, previous to developing the subject of Rational Psychology, to take into consideration this doctrine concerning order and connection, so remarkably conspicuous in the animal kingdom" (vol. ii. p. 1).

To attempt to follow our author's reasoning, or even to give a full statement of his conclusions, would take us too far. The scope of his plan we see to be transcendent,—being nothing less than to determine the order and modes of connection of all things in series from their primal cause, the Deity. And two remarkable features of his doctrine, gained for himself by study of the human system, in connection with his previous study into the composition of matter, are of the utmost importance in themselves and in furnishing a foundation for his later teachings. The one is the connection of things interior, prior, and superior with analogous things, exterior, posterior, and inferior, by perfect adaptation and correspondence, and by relation of cause and effect,—a

¹ It is Aristotle, "the Gentile," that Swedenborg most cites in these researches, though occasionally referring to the Christian Fathers, to Grotius, "the Christian philosopher," and to Descartes, Leibnitz, Wolff, and Locke's "golden essay."

doctrine which he afterwards termed that of "discrete degrees." The other is the control, in being the instant source of all life and power, which by this doctrine rests in the Deity, through intermediates, over every atom of His universe. These things we shall find him treating again, under higher light, and without feeling the need which he now feels of a "mathematical science of universals," which by a language of its own may express things inexpressible by ordinary language.

The first chapter of Part Second of the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* is devoted to the motion of the brain, the second to the cortical substance of the brain, and the third to the human soul. Confessing the difficulties in the search for the soul and his frequent disappointments, he says,—

"At length I awoke, as from a deep sleep, when I discovered that nothing is farther removed from the human understanding than what at the same time is really present to it ; and that nothing is more present to it than what is universal, prior, and superior ; since this enters into every particular, and into everything posterior and inferior. What is more omnipresent than the Deity,—in Him we live and move and have our being,—and yet what is more remote from the sphere of the understanding? . . .

"The more any one is perfected in judgment, and the better he discerns the distinctions of things, the more clearly will he perceive that there is an order in things, that there are degrees of order, and that it is by these alone he can progress, and this step by step, from the lowest sphere to the highest, or from the outermost to the innermost. For as often as Nature ascends away from external phenomena, or betakes herself inwards, she seems to have separated from us, and to have left us altogether in the dark as to what direction she has taken. We have need, therefore, of some science to serve as our guide in tracing out her steps,—to arrange all things into series, to distinguish these series into degrees, and to contemplate the order of each thing in the order of

the whole. The science which does this I call the Doctrine of Series and Degrees, or the Doctrine of Order, . . . [which] teaches the distinction and relation between things superior and inferior, or prior and posterior. . . .

"I am strongly persuaded that the essence and nature of the soul, its influx into the body, and the reciprocal action of the body can never come to demonstration without these doctrines, combined with a knowledge of anatomy, pathology, and psychology; nay, even of physics, and especially of the auras of the world. . . . This and no other is the reason that with diligent study and intense application I have investigated the anatomy of the body, and principally the human, so far as it is known from experience; and that I have followed the anatomy of all its parts, in the same manner as I have here investigated the cortical substance" (vol. ii. p. 202).

This treatise on the soul is an attempt at what was foreshadowed in the essay already cited. It is a mine of beautiful thoughts, and leads the mind up to the highest aspect of its subject.¹ Yet the author's view is not in full accordance with that found in his later works. The soul is to him a most subtle, most living fluid, composed of the first element created by its Maker, and vivified by Him. But though its form is "the form of forms," it is conceived only vaguely, and gives the reader no impression of a substantial form. More satisfactory, because within the reach of anatomical research, is his idea of the constant flow of this living essence into the inmost fibres of the body, as their inspiring and controlling life. We pass reluctantly over many pages that we would

¹ S. T. Coleridge notes, on reading the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*,—"I remember nothing in Lord Bacon superior, few passages equal, either in depth of thought, or in richness, dignity, and felicity of diction, or in the weightiness of the truths contained."—*Literary Remains*, May 27, 1827. Dr. Spurgin, formerly President of the Royal College of Physicians in London, declared the part on the Soul "a production unparalleled for excellence in the whole compass of human philosophy."—*Wisdom, Intelligence, and Science, the True Characteristics of Emanuel Swedenborg*.

like to quote, and conclude our extracts from the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* with Swedenborg's own striking conclusion. Having shown that the final end can be no other than the existence of a society of souls, "in which the end of creation may be regarded by God, and by which God may be regarded as the end of ends," he says,—

"If there be a society of souls, must not the City of God on the universal earth be the seminary of it? The most universal law of its citizens is, that *they love their neighbor as themselves, and God more than themselves*. All other things are means, and are good in proportion as they lead directly to this end. Now, as everything in the universe is created as a means to this end, it follows that the application of the means, and a true regard of the end in the means, are the sole constituents of a citizen [of the Holy City]. The Holy Scripture is the code of rules for obtaining the end by the means. These rules are not so dark or obscure as the philosophy of the mind and the love of self and of the world would make them; nor so deep and hidden but that any sincere soul, which permits the Spirit of God to govern it, may draw them from this pure fountain,—pure enough for the use and service of the members of the City of God all over the world,—without violating any form of ecclesiastical government. It is foretold that the kingdom of God shall come; that at last the guests shall be assembled at the marriage supper; that the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, the leopard with the kid, the lion with the ox; that the young child shall play with the asp; that the mountain of God shall rise above all other mountains, and that the Gentile and the stranger shall come to it to pay their worship. But see the Second Epistle of Paul to Timothy, chap. iii. 1-10; and the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xvii. 18-34."

Whoever will turn to these chapters and read them carefully, in connection with these sentences of our author, will be impressed with the evidence that Swedenborg saw the time to be at hand for our Lord's promised coming in His Holy

City, and that he desired nothing more than that his own labors might conduce to that end, yet with clear discernment that the real means lay in the Holy Scriptures, of which he stood in awe. Theology was not yet his province; and when he ventured an opinion on one of its topics, he generally referred to the Fathers for support. Yet he could not refrain from writing occasionally on points upon which new light came to him. While he had still the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* in hand, he wrote a brief essay on "Faith and Good Works,"¹ beginning thus:—

"There can be no doubt that it is faith which saves, and not works separate from faith; but where there is a possibility of doing good works, the question is, *whether faith will save without them*, according to the dogma of the Lutherans. We reply that the affirmative seems compatible neither with the Divine word of revelation, nor with human reason; both of which lead rather to the conclusion that *faith without works is a nullity, and were it anything, would condemn, not save*" (p. 9).

Next, he shows abundantly from Scripture the inculcation of love and charity. "Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, says that *it is faith which saves*, but not action,—meaning thereby not action without faith; but Luther, in his translation of the Bible, has added to the words of the apostle, faith '*alone*,' though the latter word is not to be found in the sacred text; and I believe that Luther never committed a greater sin than when he made this interpolation; but God be the judge"² (p. 10).

¹ *Posthumous Tracts*, London, 1847.

² By inadvertence Swedenborg wrote as Luther's interpolation, "without works." But the real interpolation is the German word *allein*, "alone," or *sola*, as Luther himself gave it in Latin. That this was not put in by inadvertence on Luther's part appears from his defiant words sent to the Pope: "Should the Pope give himself any useless annoyance about the word *sola*, you may promptly reply, It is the will of Dr. Martin Luther that it should be so." —ALZOG: *Univ. Church History*, Am. ed. iii. 27. In a later work Swedenborg states that he heard Luther in the other life confessing with regret that he established the doctrine of faith alone against the warning of an angel of the Lord, for the sake of more completely separating from the Roman Church. (D. P. 258.)

From philosophy he now shows that action is from the will, and that faith is not a mere knowledge, but a living principle implanted by the grace of God in the will; whence action from the will becomes active faith. Illustrating this in various ways, he concludes,—

“That there is no love to God if there be none to the neighbor; or that there is no faith, if there be no works; . . . therefore *faith without works* is a phrase involving a contradiction” (p. 15).

With some reluctance, apparently, he admits that “in the future life love to God may be said to exist without the performance of the duties of love to the neighbor,” inasmuch as all the means of “doing the duties of love to the neighbor are taken away, because the body, which is the subject of action, is extinct.” We shall be interested presently in seeing how long this notion clung to him, of the non-substantiality of the spiritual existence.

By no means content with what he had already accomplished, Swedenborg, on the completion of the parts of the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* published in 1740 and 1741, recommenced the study of the brain from the skull, and traversed the whole ground again and again, adhering for a while to the following plan:—

“Man proposes: God disposes.”

“1740. The brain.

“1741. The muscles, glands, and nerves.

“1742. The eye, ear, tongue, windpipe, and lungs.

“1743. The remaining members or viscera of the body.

“1744. The members devoted to generation.

“1745. The causes of disease.

“1746. The passions and affections of the will [*animus*] and of the mind [*mens*].

“1747. The City of God. [*Civitas Dei*].”

Interspersed with manuscripts of this period on these subjects are found notes on “(1) Correspondence by Harmony;

(2) Correspondence by Parables; (3) Correspondence by Types; (4) Correspondence by Fables and Dreams; (5) Correspondence between Human and Divine Actions; (6) Representation in Oracles; (7) Explanation of the Sacred Scripture:” the illustrations throughout being taken from Scripture. These same ideas are found again in a concise form, prepared as for publication, in forty-eight pages, entitled “A Hieroglyphic Key to Natural and Spiritual Mysteries, by Way of Representations and Correspondences.” From this little treatise, printed from the author’s manuscript in 1784, we quote the following

“*Rules.*—(1) The spiritual world is the region of antitypes or exemplars; the animal kingdom is the sphere of images and types; nature is the realm of shadows or resemblances. (2) There are many species of representations or correspondences. The first species may be termed *harmonic* correspondence, and is exemplified by the relation subsisting between light, intelligence, and wisdom; between effort and will; between modification, sensation, imagination, etc.; also between the images of vision, ideas, and thirdly, reasons; which are mutual correspondents, representing terms in a successive analogy or proportion. The second species is *allegorical* correspondence, and is constituted of similes, or similitudes. Thus it is usual to explain spiritual things in a natural manner, for all spiritual words are occult qualities: this species of correspondence is of frequent occurrence in the Holy Scripture. (3) The third species is *typical* correspondence, and is effected by shadows, or semblances,—as in the Jewish Church, which shadowed forth Christ and the Christian Church, which latter again represented the kingdom of God and the society of heaven. The fourth is *fabulous* correspondence, which species was in vogue among the ancients, who wrapped up the deeds of their heroes in fabulous narrations; examples of which are found in the representations of the poets, and in those we see in dreams. (4) There is reason to believe that the whole world is absolutely full of

types, albeit we know so few of them ; for the present ever involves the future, and contingencies occur in a certain order and chain, inasmuch as there is undeviating constancy in the tenor and influence of Divine Providence. (5) It is good to interpret the Holy Scripture on these principles, for the Spirit speaks spiritually as well as naturally."

The examples given are so simple and obvious that we will not take space to quote any of them. But the author's seizing hold of the principle of correspondence, especially as the means of interpreting Scripture, with his beginning of a collection of materials for the purpose, is highly significant of his preparation for the work that was to come. The important thing, however, for us now to observe is the steady advance of his mind, by mathematical, analytical, rational investigation, through the effects of this world to their laws, to their proximate causes, and thus to their Final Cause, — always with reverence for Revelation and desire to be in accordance therewith, but not as yet taking it for Guide.

From November, 1740, when Swedenborg returned home after publishing the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, for two years and a half, till the middle of June, 1743, the records of the Royal College of Mines show his regular attendance at its sessions, with but occasional absences from illness, or from attendance at sessions of the Diet, or on commissions of the College. That he was, however, still devoting his leisure time to the study of the body and soul, and not, as he had expected, to the "Mineral Kingdom," we may learn from the following letter addressed by him to the Royal College of Mines, June 17, 1743 :—

"*Most well-born Baron and President, and also well-born and esteemed Councillors of Mines and Assessors,* — A few months ago I applied most humbly to his Royal Majesty for gracious leave of absence, to make a journey abroad on my own resources for the purpose of seeing through the press a work which is the continuation and end of one which had

been begun and promised ; when I received orally the gracious answer through Mr. Boneauschöld, the Secretary of State, that my application had been graciously entertained, but that on a point of order it ought to be announced first to the College. Now, as ever since my return I have in addition to my official duties constantly labored to accomplish this work, and as I have now completed it so far that, after collecting some necessary information in the libraries abroad, I shall be able to publish it at once and thus fulfil what I have promised, and what is, I find, desired by many abroad,— I therefore entreat the honorable Royal College in the most humble manner that it kindly accede to my wishes. As far as my individual preference and pleasure are concerned, I can assure you that I should a thousand times prefer to stay at home in my native country, where it would be a pleasure to me to serve in so illustrious a College, and to contribute my own small share to the public good ; at the same time to watch opportunities for improving my condition and attend to the little property I have acquired, and thus live at home and have pleasant times, which, as long as my health and means with God's help continue, nothing would disturb,—than to travel abroad, exposing myself, at my own by no means inconsiderable expense, to danger and vexation, especially in these unquiet times, and undergoing severe brain-work and other hard labor, with the probability of meeting in the end with more unfavorable than favorable judgments. But, notwithstanding all this, I am influenced interiorly by the desire and longing to produce during my lifetime something real, which may be of use in the general scientific world and also to posterity, and in this way to be useful to and even to please my native country ; and, if my wishes are realized, to obtain honor for it. But if I any longer delay the carrying out of my design, I might as well give it up altogether, as far as the increase in honor and the decrease of my own interest in the work are concerned. All this depends entirely upon the most honorable Royal College's advocating my well-meant pur-

pose with his Majesty, by expressing its consent and approval with regard to my intended journey ; of which I entertain the less doubt, as the honorable Royal College has always been inclined to promote useful designs, and especially as I have never yet asked, nor intend to ask, anything from the public in return for all the trouble and the great expenses I am incurring, but on the contrary, for the sake of promoting this well-meant purpose, have given up of my own accord half of my salary, and consequently an income that already amounts to twelve thousand six hundred dalers in copper, and as I am willing to leave this at your disposal on the same terms as before, so that during my absence nothing may be neglected in the Royal College on my account. With regard to the time that will be required, I cannot determine anything, inasmuch as the work which will be published will amount to about five hundred sheets, and the despatch with which this can be done will depend on the publisher and the printer ; but I promise that on my own part the most indefatigable industry shall be applied ; nay, I am willing, if it is desired, to keep a journal of my work, and to show that no time is wasted. Moreover, it is my own chief desire to bring this work to a close, and to return to my country, to my office, and to my property, where I shall in tranquillity and ease continue my larger work, the *Regnum Minerale*, and thus be of actual use to the public at large in those matters which properly belong to the Royal College.

“I remain, and shall continue to remain, with profound respect, most well-born Baron and President, and most honorable Royal College, your most humble servant,

“EMAN. SWEDENBORG.”

The Royal College of Mines commended to King Frederic the Assessor's request, and on the 4th of July it was graciously granted. Until July 21st Swedenborg continued in attendance on his duties, but on that day left Stockholm, arriving at Ystad on the 27th. On the 6th of August he was at Stralsund,

examining the fortifications and the water-works. On the 12th he was at Hamburg, and was presented to his Royal Highness Adolphus Frederic, to whom he submitted the contents of the book he was about to have printed, and showed reviews of his former work. He had at this time accumulated a large pile of manuscript on the anatomy of the human body and other subjects, including, in addition to what he was about to publish as *The Animal Kingdom*, essays on the "Declination of the Magnetic Needle," "Corpuscular Philosophy," "Universal Philosophy," "The Bones of the Head," "The Red Blood," "The Muscles of the Face," "The Animal Spirit," "Sensation," "Action," "Common Sense," "The Origin and Propagation of the Soul," and several others, together with six hundred and thirty-six pages on the "Anatomy of the Brain," and six hundred on "Rational Psychology."

With new views opening to him on so many subjects, or on so many branches leading up to the great subject he had in ultimate contemplation,—the soul and its relation to its Creator,—it is not strange that in details our author's plans were constantly changing. Among his manuscripts are found half-a-dozen different titles for what was finally published as the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*. For the work now in hand, *The Animal Kingdom*, he at one time proposed no less than seventeen parts, of which six related to the soul. The materials for the whole seventeen were in preparation, and to a great extent already written out; but during the autumn months of 1743, spent mostly in the libraries of Amsterdam and Leyden, they became so voluminous that he published at this time only the first two. These made a handsome thick quarto volume, published at the Hague in 1744. A third part was published the next year at London, and this, for reasons we shall presently see, was the last of the work published by the author.

The Animal Kingdom ["Regnum Animale"] was, in a sort, a continuation of the previous work, the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, but treated in a somewhat different man-

ner. We seem to detect in it a somewhat less confident tone, more patience, and greater contentment with quietly and closely observing the immediate uses of the several parts of the body, while trusting that he shall be led in the end to that of which he is in search.

"Not very long since," he says in his Prologue, "I published the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, . . . and before traversing the whole field in detail, I made a rapid passage to the soul and put forth an essay respecting it. But on considering the matter more deeply, I found that I had directed my course thither both too hastily and too fast, — after having explored the blood only and its peculiar organs. I took the step impelled by an ardent desire for knowledge."

Now he proposes to traverse the whole kingdom of the body, hoping that, by bending his course inwards continually, he may open all the doors that lead to her and at length, by the Divine permission, contemplate the soul herself. But he supposes the objection made "that all those things which transcend our present state, are matters for faith and not for intellect;" that the intellect should be "contented with this its lot, and not aspire to higher things, which, inasmuch as they are sanctuaries and matters of Revelation, exist to faith only. . . . Where there is faith, what need is there of demonstration? . . . Faith is above all demonstration, because it is above all the philosophy of the human mind." His reply is, "I grant this; nor would I persuade any one who comprehends these high truths by faith, to attempt to comprehend them by his intellect: let him abstain from my books. Whoso believes Revelation implicitly, without consulting the intellect, is the happiest of mortals, the nearest to heaven, and at once a native of both worlds. But these pages of mine are written with a view to those only who never believe anything but what they can receive with the intellect; consequently who boldly invalidate and are fain to deny the existence of all supereminent things, sublimer than themselves, — as the soul itself, and what follows therefrom: its life, immortality,

heaven, etc. . . . Consequently they honor and worship nature, the world, and themselves ; in other respects they compare themselves to brutes, and think that they shall die in the same manner as brutes, and their souls exhale and evaporate : thus they rush fearlessly into wickedness. For these persons only I am anxious ; and, as I said before, for them I indite, and to them I dedicate my work. For when I shall have demonstrated truths themselves by the analytic method, I hope that those debasing shadows, or material clouds, which darken the sacred temple of the mind will be dispersed ; and that thus at last, under the favor of God, who is the Sun of Wisdom, an access will be opened and a way laid down to faith. My ardent desire and zeal for this end is what urges and animates me" (Prologue to part i. pp. 12-15).

Swedenborg's purpose, and the work given him to do, may be found further illustrated in the following passages from the Epilogue to Part Second of *The Animal Kingdom* :—

"The lungs in the first flower and golden age of their life, or when the body and the thorax were enveloped and confined by manifold swathings in the mother's womb, were unable as yet to expand, still less to open the mouth of their larynx ; but together with the brains, the heart, and the members attendant thereupon, they passed and beguiled their day, which was nine months long, in the deepest peace, and as it were in the temple of concord. At this time the soul, under the auspices of the Supreme Mind, by means of the brains and their fibres, and in the ultimate sphere by means of the heart and its vessels, ruled and governed the helm of the kingdom ; it was the only principle of all motions : the determinations from this principle flowed through adopted and organically constructed forms, serving in orderly sequence and manifold succession as first, intermediate, and ultimate causes ; hence all efforts, forces, actions, and modes thereof, agreeably to the order appointed by nature, proceeded constantly from the first spheres to the last, or from the innermost to the outermost. Thus the body was the body of its soul,

and the subject of the auspices of the Supreme Mind. But when the period of these destinies had passed away, and the manikin, bursting the swathings and bars of the womb, rushed forth upon the theatre of the great world, the state of life was instantly changed, and the hinges of the determinations, forces, and motions were inverted and bent backward against the order of the former life ; namely, from the outermost spheres to the innermost, or from the body and its powers inwards, towards the proximate and immediate powers of the principle or soul. In order that, after this inversion, the last causes might take the first place, the lungs were opened ; the lowest atmosphere of the world was admitted through the nostrils and the larynx into the trachea and the bronchial pipes ; the muscles of the thorax were unfolded ; the ribs, with the vertebræ and sternum, were moved from their places to and fro ; and the reciprocal actions proceeding from these ultimate causes, or from the body, were transferred through the diaphragm, the pleura, and the mediastinum, into the innermost sphere of the lungs, whither also the atmosphere was transferred through the larynx. On the instant the blood also, which rushed from the *venæ cavæ* into the right auricle and cavern of the heart, began to be the proximate cause of the motions or pulses, even through the whole arterial system ; the proximate cause having previously been the fibre and the spirit of the fibre. At the same time the organs of the five senses were opened, to take up on the first threshold the images, tones, forms, and all the play and manifestation of the circumambient world, and convey them inwards even to the soul. Thus we entered, or rather fell, from the highest life into the lowest, the life of the body, and of the world.

“Now, when the body undertook to manage the reins which the soul relinquished ; when the machine was so completely inverted that the powers flowed and rolled contrariwise, or upwards instead of downwards,—then, in order that the machine itself might not be prostrated and perish by its forces, and in order that the life that was now transferred to

the body might not be dissipated and come to an end, it was provided and appointed that the lungs should perform a mediatorial office between the soul and the body ; wherefore, to bring them into concord, the ordinances that follow were solemnly decreed."

Here follow eight laws governing the reciprocal action of the lungs and of the heart and brains, at too great length for our space. Then he continues :—

"Since, therefore, we are inaugurated into this life, that tends backwards from the last stages of the course to the first, the consequence is that we are born in the densest obscurity, ignorant of all things, and the merest of infants ; for the forces of the body, which are now the first causes, feel nothing of themselves. Thus we live but little, if at all, in early infancy, for to feel is to live ; yet this very life increases, grows, and approximates to perfection, as age advances."

Describing then how sensations become, by effort from within, first images of sense, then sensual ideas, then imaginative and at last intellectual ideas, so that, by means of the senses, we are led from the darkness of ignorance more or less into the light of knowledge, he says,—

"There is in the cerebrum an eminent sensorium, and intimate recesses therein, whither these sensual rays of the body ascend, and where they can mount no further : there the soul resides, clad in the noblest garment of organization, and sits to meet the ideas emerging thither, and receives them as guests. This high and noble place is the innermost sensorium ; and it is the boundary at which the ascent of the life of the body ceases, and the boundary from which that of the soul, considered as a spiritual essence, begins. Here especially the soul inspires her power, and communicates the faculty whereby images become ideas."

But to acquire the power of thinking clearly from the soul, and to distinguish what is in harmony with her nature, thus with real truth, there is need of abundant store of observation, or scientific fact, an assiduous training of the faculties,

*sounds like
the idea
of creation*

and a "constant exercise of the gift itself, till it becomes a part of our nature. Above all things we must aim by education to become thoroughly imbued with the power of recalling the rational mind from the senses and the animal mind ; in short, from cares, from the lusts of the body, the allurements of the world, and thus as it were from our lower selves. . . . By these means we mount to our higher mind, or to the soul, which then becomes accessible and infuses power."

"If we wish," says our author, "to invite real truths, whether natural, or moral, or spiritual (for they all make common cause by means of correspondence and representation), into the sphere of our rational minds, it is necessary that we extinguish the impure fires of the body, and thereby our own delusive lights, and submit and allow our minds, unmolested by the influences of the body, to be illuminated with the rays of the spiritual power : then for the first time truths flow in ; for they all emanate from that power as their peculiar fountain. Nor when they are present, are there wanting a multitude of signs by which they attest themselves ; namely, the varied forms of sweetness and delight attendant upon truth attained, and affecting the mind as the enjoyments that result from the harmonies of external objects affect the lower and sensitive faculties of the body : for as soon as ever a truth shines forth, such a mind exults and rejoices ; and this joy is the ground of its first assent, and of its first delighted smile ; but the actual confirmation of the truth proceeds from its accordance with numerous reasons, confirmed by experience by means of the sciences, and each point of which accordance receives a similar assent,—the mind going onwards the while, with assiduous attention and pains, by the analytic way, or from effects to causes. In addition to these delights there are still more universal signs,—as the desire and the passion for attaining truth, and the love of the truth attained, not for the sake of our own advantage, but for that of the advantage of human society ; and neither for the glory of ourselves or of

society, but of the Supreme Divinity alone. This is the only way to truths : other things as means, which are infinite, God Omnipotent provides."

Inquiring, then, into the ends, or purposes of the provision by which it is ordained that man should ascend from lowest and outermost to highest and innermost, he unfolds them comprehensively, concluding with these,—“that in this ultimate circle of nature we may receive the wonders of the world, and as we ascend the steps and ladders of intelligence receive still greater wonders, in all their significance and with full vision ; and that at length we may comprehend by faith those profound miracles that cannot be comprehended by the intellect ; and from all these things, in the deep hush of awe and amazement, venerate and adore the omnipotence and providence of the Supreme Creator ; and thus, in the contemplation of Him, regard as vanity everything that we leave behind us. . . . The last end, which also is the first, is that our minds, at length become forms of intelligence and innocence, may constitute a spiritual heaven, a kingdom of God, or a holy society, in which the end of creation may be regarded by God, and by which God may be regarded as the end of ends. From infinite wisdom, added to equal power, and this to equal providence, such perpetual end flows constantly, from the first end to the last, and from the last to the first, through the intermediate ends, that declare the glory of the Divinity.” To this he adds in a note, “I shall treat of these subjects, by the blessing of God, in the last of my analytic Parts. But as yet we are dwelling in the mere effects of the world, which exhibit the amazing and Divine circle of these ends before the contemplation of our very senses” (part ii. p. 331-366).

It would be aside from our main duty, were it within our compass, to follow our author through his analysis of “the mere effects of the world,” of the organs of the body, their microscopical structure, their inter-relation and function, and their correspondential relation with the organs and functions

of the mind. Something more we shall have to say of these studies before we have done ; but what interests us most in them now is the Divinely ordered preparation effected by them in Swedenborg's own mind, and in the whole circle of minds connected with his,—a circle not limited by his vision nor by his age,—for comprehending the mysteries of the Lord's presence and dealings with men. In view of this we do not care to dwell on the scientific value of the works, but will simply say that they were based on the investigations of the great anatomists of their day ; and that, by the author's philosophic informing power, and from his point of view of the life inflowing from the soul, the perusal of them is like looking with sympathetic penetrating eyes into the living body, full of beauty, energy, and motion,—in place of dissecting the cadaver. This is why many secrets of the human frame of later discovery are anticipated in these pages, though together with them, at least in the earlier "Economy" may be found some errors of fact.

With one more specimen of its style and drift, we must conclude our extracts from what was published by our author of *The Animal Kingdom* :—

"As the blood is continually making its circle of life, that is to say, is in a constant revolution of birth and death ; as it dies in its old age, and is regenerated or born anew ; and as the veins solicitously gather together the whole of its corporeal part, and the lymphatics of its spirituous part, and successively bring it back, refeed it with new chyle, and restore it to the pure and youthful blood ; and as the kidneys constantly purge it of impurities, and restore its pure parts to the blood,—so likewise man, who lives at once in body and spirit while he lives in the blood, must undergo the same fortunes generally, and in the progress of his regeneration must daily do the like. Such a perpetual symbolical representation is there of spiritual life in corporeal life ; as likewise a perpetual typical representation of the soul in the body. In this consists *the searching of the heart and the reins*, which

is a thing purely Divine." [NOTE.] "In our Doctrine of Representations and Correspondences, we shall treat of both these symbolical and typical representations, and of the astonishing things which occur, I will not say in the living body only, but throughout nature, and which correspond so entirely to supreme and spiritual things that one would swear *that the physical world is purely symbolical of the spiritual world*,—insomuch that if we choose to express any natural truth in physical and definite vocal terms, and to convert these terms only into the corresponding spiritual terms, we shall by this means elicit a spiritual truth or theological dogma, in place of the physical truth or precept; although no mortal would have predicted that anything of the kind could possibly arise by bare literal transposition, inasmuch as the one precept, considered separately from the other, appears to have absolutely no relation to it. I intend hereafter to communicate a number of examples of such correspondences, together with a vocabulary containing the terms of spiritual things, as well as of the physical things for which they are to be substituted. This symbolism pervades the living body; and I have chosen simply to indicate it here, for the purpose of pointing out the spiritual meaning of *searching the reins*" (part i. p. 451).

Of the principles involved in this treatment of the subject, Dr. Wilkinson well says, in the Introductory Remarks to his translation of *The Animal Kingdom*,—

"The Doctrine of Series and Degrees, in conjunction with that of Correspondence and Representation, teaches that there is a universal analogy between all the spheres of creation, material, mental, and spiritual; and also between nature and all things in human society. The circulation of uses in the body perfectly represents the free intercourse of man with man, and the free interchange of commodities between nation and nation. The operations that go on in the body analogically involve all the departments of human industry; nay, and infinitely more, both in subdivision, unity, and perfection.

There is not an art or trade, whether high or low, so long as it be of good use, but the Creator Himself has adopted and professed it in the human system. Nay, in the richness of His pervading love, the very prerogatives of the mind are representatively applicable to the body. End, cause, and effect, as existing in Himself, are represented in the latter as well as in the former. Liberty and rationality, the universal principles of humanity, are transplanted by analogy from the mind into the body. It presents an *analogon* of liberty, in that every organ, part, and particle can successfully exercise an attraction for those fluids that are adapted to its life and uses; of rationality, in that it acts as though it took cognizance of the adaptability, and operates upon the materials demanded and supplied in such a manner as will best secure the well-being of itself and of the whole system."

In addition to what Swedenborg himself published of *The Animal Kingdom*, several parts have been published in Germany and England, from time to time; and now, with amazing industry and much skill, the Rev. R. L. Tafel has deciphered and translated all of the manuscripts left by Swedenborg on the brain. From these, together with some matter on the same subject already printed, and copious confirmatory notes drawn from later writers, he has in course of publication three thick octavo volumes, constituting a complete treatise on the anatomy and functions of the brain, which, we have the authority of experts for saying, is full of vital suggestion supported by recent researches, so far as these extend.¹ Of its theory Dr. Wilkinson says,—

"Doctrine is the ever-potent father of Swedenborg's theory,—the doctrine, namely, that there is a God, who is a Creator; and that God is the Author of the human soul; and that He made the living soul to be creative in its own finite sphere; and further, that the soul, in order to embody itself, under God immanent made the brain, which is thus the

¹ *The Brain, Considered Anatomically, Physiologically, and Philosophically.* Vol. i. James Speirs, London, 1882.

anthropoplasm of the human frame upon earth. The brain, from its first principles, conceived, through the Divine wisdom by the soul in it, all the details of its own form, fitting it to be the abode of the mind in all its faculties. . . . The soul also, which makes the brain mechanic, inventive, contriving for itself, imprints upon it with the form of motion also the power ; and in an order and determination stupendous like the galaxies of heaven, it commands a universal motion as the pulse and radiance of a universal life. And as there can be no motion without a corresponding and adequate something moved, there are fluids which are so eminent and so ordinate that they can be embrained and ensouled, and give life to the avenues of the brain, to the body and the blood."

But let us hear Swedenborg himself : —

"The soul is properly the universal essence of its body. The soul is the only thing substantial and essential in its body. From it are derived and born all the substances and essences which are called composite and corporeal. For what can truly be, unless it be from a thing prior, more simple and more unique, which is the beginning of the rest? That which gives to others being and existence, must itself be. It cannot be produced from modes, accidents, and qualities without a subject and form, and consequently without a real essence and substance. The soul also is peculiar or proper, and there is not one universal soul for all ; so that the soul of one cannot belong to the body of another ; for—what is to be demonstrated, namely — the very form of the body is the result of its essential determination, or the body itself represents the soul as it were in an image. . . . The higher or highest universal essence is the soul, the lower is the animal spirit, and the third the blood. The highest essence imparts being, the power of acting and life to the lower, this imparts the same in a like manner to the lowest ; the lowest, consequently, exists and subsists from the first by means of the middle. . . . The determinations of the highest universal essence of the bodily system are those fibres which are the simplest of all, and which

are like rays of the soul, and the first designations of forms. The determinations of the lower universal essence are those fibres which are derived from the most simple ; but those of the lowest are the arterial and venous vessels. As the essences, so also the determinations are in turn derived from one another, the higher imparting being to the lower. From these determinations, or from these determining essences, all the organic viscera, and consequently the whole bodily system, is woven and formed " (p. 65).

" *It is the cerebrum through which the intercourse between the soul and the body is established ; for it is as it were the link and the uniting medium.* From what follows, it will appear that the soul is in the cerebrum as it were in its heaven and Olympus, although it is essentially everywhere, and present in every individual part. In the cerebrum, however, is formed as it were its court and palace chamber, from which it looks around on all things belonging to it, and determines them into act in agreement with its intuition " (p. 67).

One other section of the manuscript left by Swedenborg as a part of *The Animal Kingdom*, under the head of " Rational Psychology,"¹ we must not pass without notice. In truth, if we should give the substance of it as the climax of our author's studies into the nature of man, of his soul, and of its relation to the Creator, not a reader but would say, Well done, wise and excellent Swedenborg ; you have not lived and studied in vain. Indeed, we know very well that many would praise loudly these essays on the various motives and faculties of the body and mind and soul, written in Swedenborg's own name, who feel constrained to be chary of their commendation of what he afterwards published as not of his own wisdom. But for the same reason that our author himself laid these writings aside, while he devoted all his time and means to the publication of what he perceived to be from Heaven, we must follow his example and save our

¹ Published in 1849 by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel, in its original incomplete form, under the title of *Regnum Animale, pars vii. De Anima.*

readers' appetite for the later and better works. We must not wait till they have well drunk, even of the pure water of the earlier supply, but must hasten to pour out for them this same water after it has become wine. We will but give a sip, and then pass on.

"All souls are purely spiritual forms. Thus all minds and their loves are purely spiritual, whether they are good or evil ; for a spirit, whether good or evil, is still purely spirit, or purely mind, and has purely spiritual — that is, universal — loves, in which are contained the principles of lower and purely natural loves. A good angel, as also an evil angel or devil, is purely spirit ; and the loves of each are purely spiritual,—but with the difference, that, whatever a good spirit loves, the evil spirit hates and loves its opposite " (p. 202).

"The first and supreme love of the spirit or soul, and the most universal, is the love of Being above itself, from which it has drawn and continually draws its essence ; in which, through which, and on account of which it is and lives. This love is the first of all, because nothing can exist and subsist from itself except God, who exists in Himself, and alone is He who is. Because the soul feels this in itself, that supreme love is also inborn in it, and thus is the very Divine love within us. There is also given a love directly opposite to this, though also spiritual and supreme, which is hatred of any power or being above itself. This love is called diabolical ; from it is known what the quality of good love is, and from the good, what the quality of evil love is " (p. 203).

"The Divine Providence takes especial care that individuals shall be distinct, one from another, since it is the very end of creation that a most perfect society of souls may exist. . . . As, then, no soul is absolutely like another, but some difference or diversity of state exists between all, this has not obtained merely for the sake of distinguishing one from another, but to the end that the most perfect form of society might exist from the variety. And in such a form there must needs be not only a difference among all, but such a differ-

ence, or variety, as that all the individuals may come together in harmony, so as to form together a society in which nothing shall be wanting that is not found in some one. . . . This harmonic variety, however, does not consist in the outward variety of souls, but in their spiritual variety, of love towards God and towards their neighbor ; for the state of the soul concerns only its spiritual state, how it may be nearest to its God. When any shade of variety is wanting, some place in heaven may be said to be as yet vacant ; so that all the differences, or varieties, are to be filled up before the form can exist in full perfection.

“But whether there are to be many societies, and, as it were, many heavens, of which the universal society will consist, which is called the kingdom of God, we seem also able to conclude ; for every variety, even spiritual, involves an order, with subordination and co-ordination. . . . For when the form of rule is most perfect, it is of necessity that all societies should produce a general harmony together, as the individual members produce a particular harmony in each society.

“This is called the kingdom of God, in heaven, but on earth, the seminary of that kingdom, the very city of God, which is not joined to any certain religion or church, but is distributed through the whole world ; for God elects His members out of all, that is, of those who had actually loved God above themselves, and their neighbors as themselves. For this is the law of all laws : in this culminate all laws, Divine and natural ; all the rest are but means leading to this” (p. 243).

“Such a society cannot exist without its Head or Prince ; that is to say, without Him who has been man, without blame and without offence, victor over all affections of the mind, virtue itself and piety itself, and the love of God above one’s self, and the love of the companion and neighbor, and thus Divinity in Himself,—in whom the whole society should be represented, and through whom the members of the society might come to His will. Without such a king of souls, the

society might be gathered and exist in vain. This also follows necessarily from the conceded form of rule, from the difference of state of each member, and from the approach to God through love. For that form must be determined by the purer of every degree, consequently by the purest, who has been without sin, that is, by our Saviour and Preserver, Jesus Christ, in whom alone we can by faith and love draw near to the Divine Throne" (p. 246).

To review Swedenborg's labors as a philosopher : —

We find him coming into the field in the Augustan age of philosophy, when human reason had gone as far as of its own power it could go in the search for the soul and the Infinite ; when its next step was to be either a plunge into materialism and unbelief, or a confession of its own impotence and a submission to something above itself. We find him seizing upon all the vantage ground that had been gained, from Plato and Aristotle to Leibnitz and Locke ; by the deduction of idealism and the induction of realism placing in order the already vast accumulations of science ; with the aid of the microscope and of the telescope reading the Book of Nature, for the purpose of learning the steps by which the power of the Highest descends, in order that the soul might remount by them to His contemplation ; not of its own strength, but submissively to His Word, trusting to His leading hand, and hearkening to His guiding Spirit.¹

Of the steps that thus opened before him, let us bear in mind these : —

That all of life is in and from the Divine, and that except from the Divine nought can for a moment exist.

¹ " Having thus traced the philosophy of Swedenborg to its highest point, we may look back for a moment upon his whole method of procedure. Evidently it is the inductive and synthetic method combined. Commencing by observation, his mind seized upon certain high philosophical axioms ; and from them reasoned downwards to the nature and uses of particular objects. Perhaps it is the only attempt the world has seen (with the exception of the unsuccessful efforts of Comte) at rising upwards to purely philosophical ideas from positive and concrete facts." — J. D. MORELL: *Historical and Critical View of Speculative Philosophy of Europe in 19th Century*, i. 320.

That the inflowing of life from the Divine is primarily into forms the most simple, most single, and inmost.

That the descent of life is through successive degrees, one without and correspondent to another, as the body to the soul.

That the outer degree has its life from the inner, and yet enjoys a certain freedom of reaction and consent of its own.

That the Divine, by means of its life-giving residence in the inmost of every minutest thing, rules all things, from greatest to least.

That, from intimate conjunction with the finite soul, the Divine has given as it were a derivation of itself, or an indwelling of itself, still Divine, as a *nexus* in the finite.

That the infinite variety in the created universe is for the sake of a most perfect whole, in which there may be a special place and use for every individual.

That this variety is determined by an order of series and degrees, in which there is perfect co-ordination and subordination.

That there is thus a subordination of ends, and everything subserves the final end.

That the final end is a universal society of human souls, composed of smaller societies in co-ordination and subordination, with infinite variety tending to a most perfect whole.

That this universal society, or heaven, is of necessity ruled and ordered by Him who is at once God and perfect Man, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

It is by these steps that Swedenborg — accepting with the idealists the certainty of intuitive, interior perceptions ; with the materialists the reality of outward impressions — learned to connect them and to mount securely into assurance of Divine things, even of Revelation and of the Incarnation. Little do we realize who drink in his theology as our mother's milk, in what laborious intellectual discipline its philosophic foundation was laid. Meanwhile materialists still study only

outward phenomena, ignoring hidden causes. Rationalists still discuss mental processes, as if in them lay all the world. But in Germany, under Providence, a new school of thinkers has sprung up, who, thoroughly trained in philosophic reasoning, have yet the Christian theology for their abiding faith. To this school we are indebted, on the one hand, for the affirmative tone which German philosophy is gradually assuming, and, on the other, for the amelioration, or philosophic interpretation, that for half a century has been quietly stealing over the dogmatic thought of Calvinistic, Lutheran, and even Roman Catholic theologians. That Swedenborg's steps in philosophy are not the steps taken by this school, any more than his steps in science are the steps taken by the modern school of science, need not surprise us.¹ Neither do they lead to precisely the same end. But the parallelism in the conclusions reached is so striking, that it is becoming more and more difficult every day to point out clearly the distinction between the doctrine of Swedenborg and that of these modern theologians, authors of what they themselves call regenerated theology. Essential distinctions, however, exist and, we may safely say, will continue to exist, though of decreasing importance, till all together can recognize in Swedenborg the expounder of the Doctrine that was to come. This Doctrine Swedenborg, studying the Revelation in Nature, saw as yet but through a glass darkly: his eyes needed to be touched by the Divine Hand in order that, in the Revelation of the Holy Word, they might see clearly.

¹ Notwithstanding what Mr. Emerson has said in his *Representative Men* (p. 112),—"He must be reckoned a leader in that evolution which, by giving to science an idea, has given to an aimless accumulation of experiments guidance and form and a beating heart,"—it would be difficult to show that scientific men have taken many steps under Swedenborg's leadership. But see Appendix XI.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPIRITUAL PREPARATION.

HITHERTO Swedenborg's labors have been devoted to the unfolding of the Divine Revelation in the Book of Nature, by means of experiment, analysis, and the exercise of reason, under such guidance as he was prepared to receive of the Spirit of Truth. In these labors we have observed the ample training of the reasoning faculty, coming to maturity, with its increasing acknowledgment of dependence on the light of the Sun of heaven. We are now to learn the preparation of heart yet necessary, in order that the submission to the guidance of the Spirit of Truth may become so entire as to fit him for unfolding the Divine Revelation in the written Word. The groundwork of this preparation we may recognize in the "Rules of Life," which Sandel found, as he says in his eulogy, "in more than one place among his manuscripts," and which may be commended to every one who would fulfil the duties of this life and prepare for life in the kingdom of heaven :—

"1. Diligently to read and meditate upon the Word of God.

"2. To be content under the dispensations of God's Providence.

"3. To observe a propriety of behavior, and to preserve the conscience pure.

"4. To obey what is commanded, to attend faithfully to one's office and other duties, and in addition to make one's self useful to society in general."

As marking the progress of the preparation, we find in his philosophical works, besides the growing humility and

reverence that illumine the pages, some plain statements, drawn we cannot doubt from his spiritual experience. In the part of *The Animal Kingdom* treating of the soul, he says, —

“To change the disposition is to change the very nature. To change a good disposition into an evil one is comparatively easy; but to change an evil one into a good is more difficult. This can in no way be effected, except by means of the rational mind and its understanding, whether the understanding be our own, or derived from faith, or persuaded by authority. Nor is the nature changed unless we become averse to evils and abhor them, and never lead our mind back into the former state; and unless whenever it slips back, we snatch it out, from the liberty given, and come into the state which agrees with the more perfect love. Nor even so is it changed unless we remain a long while in this state, and meet the other with force and violence, clothing ourselves with the opposite new state by constant works and practices of virtues, and so continuing until it has become a second nature and expelled, as it were, the other nature,—so that, whenever the old nature returns, we perceive that it must be resisted. In this way and no other we can put off the evil nature and put on a good nature; but it is very difficult in this life without grace and Divine help.”

These we feel to be the words of experience, of long and successful labor. But what is here described is only the reformation of the natural mind, or disposition. After this it is necessary that the natural mind should so far submit as to suffer the spiritual mind to flow in with its own loves.

“To this,” Swedenborg says, “the intellect, unless from what is revealed, contributes nothing; but faith springing from God does the work. And so, His will being invoked, His spirit flows into the soul and changes its state, or perfects it; but the work is one of long discipline, if the soul is evil, that it may become good. . . . Hence it is plain how difficult it is to turn an evil soul into a good one, and that this is

of the Divine grace alone, though there must be persevering application on the part of man.”¹

What is here described, though in the terms of his Psychology, we cannot fail to recognize as the regeneration of water and of the spirit. The description is that of experience, already, we may believe, far advanced. What was yet needed for its completion we are now to see. But we may well pause to consider how little we have ourselves accomplished, even of the reformation of the natural disposition, and how little we know in our own experience of the total regeneration sought by Swedenborg. This deep regeneration, though with his consent and co-operation, was being effected by the Lord for a purpose to him unknown. A few years later, he wrote,—

“What the acts of my life involved I could not distinguish at the time they happened, but by the Divine mercy of God Messiah I was afterwards informed with regard to some, even many particulars. From these I was at last able to see that the Divine Providence governed the acts of my life uninterruptedly from my very youth, and directed them in such a manner that by means of the knowledge of natural things I was enabled to reach a state of intelligence, and thus by the Divine mercy of God Messiah, to serve as an instrument for opening those things which are hidden interiorly in the Word of God Messiah.” (Adv. iii. 839².)

Still later, Nov. 11, 1766, he wrote to Oetinger,—

“I was introduced by the Lord into the natural sciences, and thus prepared, and indeed from the year 1710 to 1744, when heaven was opened to me.” And this he said was for the purpose,—

“That the spiritual things which are being revealed at the present day may be taught and understood naturally and rationally; for spiritual truths have a correspondence with natural truths, because in these they terminate, and upon these they rest. . . . The Lord has granted me besides to

¹ *De Anima*, pp. 218–220.

² The references are now to Numbers.

love truths in a spiritual manner,—that is, to love them, not for the sake of honor, nor for the sake of gain, but for the sake of the truths themselves; for he who loves truths for the sake of truth, sees them from the Lord, because the Lord is the Way and the Truth.”

For a better understanding of this love of truth for the sake of truth, and of its effects, we will here quote a passage or two from Swedenborg's *Arcana Cælestia*, and more by and by :—

“Doctrine is to be drawn from the Word, and while it is being drawn man must be in illustration from the Lord; and he is in illustration when in the love of truth for the sake of truth, not for the sake of self and the world. These are they who are illustrated in the Word when they read it, and see truth, and therefrom form for themselves doctrine. The reason is, because such men communicate with heaven, thus with the Lord, and so, being illustrated from the Lord, they are led to see the truths of the Word as they are in heaven; for the Lord flows in through heaven into their understandings, the interior understanding being what is illustrated. The Lord at the same time flows in with faith, by means of the co-operation of the new will, to which it belongs to be affected with truth for the sake of truth.”¹ (A. C. 9424.)

“The Lord speaks with the man of the Church in no other way than by means of the Word, for He then illustrates man, so that he may see the truth; and He also gives perception, so that man may perceive that it is so. But this takes place according to the quality or the desire of truth with man, and the desire of truth with man is according to the love of it. They who love truth for the sake of truth are in illustration, and they who love truth for the sake of good are in perception.” (A. C. 10,290.)

Again he says of his own preparation,—

¹ Swedenborg uses the word “illustrate” [*illustrare*] in the sense of *filling with light*. The translations sometimes give “illumine,” and sometimes “enlighten,” for the same word, with the same meaning.

"I was once asked how from a philosopher I became a theologian; and I answered, 'In the same manner that fishers were made disciples and apostles by the Lord, and I also from early youth had been a spiritual fisher.' On hearing this, the inquirer asked what a spiritual fisher was. I replied that a fisher, in the spiritual sense of the Word, signifies a man who investigates and teaches natural truths, and afterwards spiritual truths in a rational manner. . . . On hearing this, my interrogator raised his voice and said, 'Now I can understand why the Lord called and chose fishers to be His disciples; and so I do not wonder that He has also called and chosen you, since, as you have said, you were from early youth a fisher in a spiritual sense, that is, an investigator of natural truths; the reason that you are now become an investigator of spiritual truths is because these are founded on the other.'" (Int. S. & B. 20.)

Of the manifestation to him of the Divine purpose, and of further steps necessary in preparation, we now learn many things from his *Spiritual Diary*:—

"During several years," he notes, Aug. 27, 1748, "not only had I dreams by which I was informed about the things on which I was writing, but I experienced also changes of state, there being a certain extraordinary light in what was written. Afterwards I had many visions with closed eyes, and light was given me in a miraculous manner. There was also an influx from spirits, as manifest to the sense as if it had been into the senses of the body; there were infestations in various ways by evil spirits, when I was in temptations; and afterwards, when writing anything to which the spirits had an aversion, I was almost possessed by them, so as to feel something like a tremor. Flamy lights were seen [confirming what was written] and conversations heard in the early morning, besides many other things." "For nearly three years," he writes in August, 1747, "I have been allowed to perceive and notice the operation of spirits, not by a sort of internal sight, but by a sensation which is associated with a sort of

obscure sight, by which I noticed their presence, which was various, their approach and departure, besides many other things."

For some years his dreams had been growing more remarkable and more significant, so that he had been led to keep a record of them. The earlier records, beginning as early as 1736, were cut from his "Diary" for preservation in the family, and now are lost; but there is still preserved a minute account of those that he had at Amsterdam and London in the spring and summer of 1744, the critical period of his spiritual experience, together with a brief memorandum of the dreams that came to him in the previous December, when he had gone from Amsterdam to the Hague. These dreams were personal and private, involving often dire temptations, and signifying to him many things about his studies and his states, by representations which without such understanding would be meaningless or repulsive. They were not recorded for any one's use but his own, and yet to the student of Swedenborg's progress they occasionally afford valuable aid. For instance, in this December he notes,—

"I wondered at myself that I had not, so far as my own consciousness told me, any concern remaining for my own honor, and that I was no longer inclined to the other sex as I had been all my life long."

By this inclination which now ceased, we are of course to understand, not the spiritual affection which belongs to the spiritual man, but the natural inclination which is of self, akin to the "self-interest and self-love in my work" that he again wonders at being delivered from, and which must needs be left behind on approaching the gates of heaven. The natural disposition is submitting to be ruled by the spiritual mind from the Lord, as he about this time described; yet he did not yield up his natural will, which was necessarily strong in a man of his power, without many a painful struggle. He notes the same month,—

"How I opposed myself to the Spirit; and how I then en-

joyed this, but afterwards found that it was nonsense, without life and coherence ; and that consequently a great deal of what I had written, in proportion as I had rejected the power of the Spirit, was of that description ; and, indeed, that thus all the faults are my own, but the truths are not my own. Sometimes indeed I became impatient and thought I would rebel, if all did not go on with the ease I desired, after I no longer did anything for my own sake. [And again] I found my unworthiness less, and gave thanks for the grace."

This is interesting in connection with the fact that in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, published three years before, we find some material statements which have been disproved by later researches ; while in *The Animal Kingdom*, which he was now preparing for the press, nothing of importance is found that does not stand the test of time. It is noteworthy also that near this period he appends to some of his manuscripts the remark, "These things are true, for I have the sign,"¹—by which we understand him to mean the fiery sign that appeared to him as a confirmation of what was true. To others again he appends, on stating what he is going to do, "So I seem ordered."

Still his struggles go on :—

"How I resisted the power of the Holy Spirit, and what took place afterwards. The hideous spectres which I saw, without life,—they were terrible ; although bound, they kept moving in their bands. They were in company with an animal, by which I and not the child was attacked. It seemed to me as if I were lying on a mountain, below which was an abyss ; knots were on it. I was lying there trying to hold myself up, holding on to a knot, without foothold, and an abyss underneath. This signifies that I desire to rescue myself from the abyss, which yet is not possible."

That is to say, as we understand, the abyss of natural, selfish will, out of which we are to be rescued by the Divine grace, but not possibly by our own power. In March he

¹ See *Photolith* vi. at bottom of p. 318, on the "Corpuscular Philosophy."

dreams again of the abyss, into which there is danger of falling unless he receive help.

In April, "the day before Easter, I experienced nothing the whole night, although I repeatedly woke up ; I thought that all was past and gone, and that I had been either forsaken or exiled. About morning it seemed to me as if I were riding, and as if I had had the direction pointed out. It was however dark, and when I looked I found that I had gone astray on account of the darkness ; but then it brightened up and I saw how I had gone wrong, and I noticed the way and the forests and groves which I was to go through, and also heaven behind them, and then I awoke. My thoughts then of their own accord turned upon this, and afterwards on the other life, and it seemed to me as if everything was full of grace. I burst into tears at having not loved, but rather provoked, Him who had led me and pointed out the way to the kingdom of grace ; and also at my being unworthy of acceptance by grace."

"Easter was on the 5th of April, when I went to the Lord's table. Temptation still continued, most in the afternoon, till six o'clock ; but it assumed no definite form. It was an anxiety felt at being condemned and in hell ; but in this feeling the hope given by the Holy Spirit, according to Paul's epistle to the Romans, v. 5, remained strong. . . . I was assured that my sins were forgiven, and yet I could not control my wandering thoughts so as to restrain some expressions opposed to my better judgment : I was by permission under the influence of the Evil One. The temptation was assuaged by prayer and the Word of God : faith was there in its entirety, but confidence and love seemed to be gone."

After describing a terrible conflict that followed with a snake, changing to a dog, in a dream, he adds,—

"From this may be seen the nature of the temptation, and, on the other hand, the greatness of God's grace by the merit of Christ and the operation of the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever and ever. The idea at once struck me how great the grace of the Lord is, who accounts and appropriates

to us our resistance in temptation, although it is purely God's grace, and is His and not our work ; and He overlooks our weaknesses in it, which yet must be manifold. I thought also of the great glory our Lord dispenses after a brief period of tribulation. . . . Afterwards I awoke and slept again many times, and all was in answer to my thoughts ; yet so that in everything there was such life and glory that I can give no description of it ; for it was all heavenly, clear to me at the time, but afterwards inexpressible. In short I was in heaven, and I heard a language which no human tongue can utter with its inherent life, nor the glory and inmost delight resulting from it. Besides, while I was awake I was in a heavenly ecstasy which is also indescribable. . . . Praise and honor and glory be to the Highest ! hallowed be His Name ! Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts !”

By this means, he says, “I learned by experience the meaning of this,—not to love the angels more than God ; as they had nearly overthrown the whole work. In comparison with our Lord no attention must be paid to them, that is, to them in respect to the help they can render,—since their love is far lower than His. By some rays of light in me I found that it would be the greatest happiness to become a martyr ; for, on beholding inexpressible grace combined with love to God, a desire was kindled in me to undergo this torture, which is nothing compared with eternal torment ; and [a sense] that the least of the things that one can offer is his life. . . . This took place in the night between Easter Sunday and Easter Monday.”

Here we see the inward depth of the temptation and regeneration which Swedenborg was now undergoing. All his previous efforts were external in comparison, and futile. Indeed he is learning the inefficacy and error of all merely human efforts for goodness, even those of the angels themselves. And all this was to the end that he might yield himself wholly into the Lord's hands, and become His humble, faithful servant, with a new heart and a new spirit. Nor was

his personal regeneration all that was at stake. The great question as to how regeneration is accomplished was to be experimentally solved and intelligently comprehended. From the time of the Christian Fathers it had become more and more misunderstood. The Roman Catholic Church taught that it was effected by baptism, and confirmed by good works. The Reformed Churches had adopted the same belief in baptism, as regeneration, for those who should receive faith, as the elect,—denying that men can do anything about it. For the implanting of a new, true, interior Church, it was essential that the real means of regeneration should be understood. Swedenborg, by inheritance, was a mild Lutheran. By experience he now learns that neither has baptism regenerated, nor his own labor in reformation ; that he is in danger of the abyss from deep natural tendency to sin ; that the Lord's merit cannot be imputed to him, and so effect his salvation ; but that to be saved, he must see and confess his sinfulness, be distressed on account of it, pray to the Lord for the grace of forgiveness, making every possible effort of resistance to evil, and all with the acknowledgment that both the prayer and the effort are not his own, but given from the Lord alone. The process, indeed, is not essentially different from that we have seen already sketched in *The Animal Kingdom* ; but it is now being accomplished in interior degrees, far beyond what Swedenborg had imagined. And here it should be remarked that the term "regeneration" is applicable to several distinct degrees of the mind, of which the more interior are opened and regenerated with comparatively few. Of this we shall learn more in the *arcana celestia* of the first chapter of Genesis. And as each successive degree is nearer to the Lord, His presence and agency in its regeneration become more clearly seen ; or, in other words, each successive approach to the Lord brings a new consciousness of interior tendency to sin, which must needs be deplored and submitted to Him, and a deeper consciousness that all the power of deliverance is from Him alone.

To continue our extracts from the note-book of dreams :

"April 6 and 7. In the evening I came into another kind of temptation. . . . While I was reading God's miracles wrought through Moses, it seemed to me as if something of my own understanding was mixed up with it, so that I was not able to have so strong a faith as I ought. I believed, and yet did not believe. I thought that for this reason angels and God appeared to shepherds, and not to a philosopher, who allows his understanding to come into play, which would keep leading him to ask why God used the wind when He called the locusts together ; why He hardened Pharaoh's heart, and did not work directly, — with other like things which I thought of, and the effect of which was such that my faith was not firm. I looked upon the fire, and said to myself, 'In this case neither ought I to believe that the fire is, since the external senses are more fallacious than what God says, which is the Truth itself ; I ought rather to believe this than myself.' With these and other similar thoughts I passed an hour, or an hour and a half, and in my mind was engaged with the Tempter."

The temptation was clearly an effort of the evil spirits to prevent his giving up his heart to the Divine Will, under the specious plea that in so doing he would have to resign his powers of understanding, in which his natural confidence and pleasure were great. The occasion of this effort of the spirits who had hitherto flattered his self-confidence, appears plainly from what follows : —

"I must observe that on the same day I had gone to Delft, and had had the grace of being engaged in profound spiritual thought,—my thoughts being more profound and beautiful than they had ever been before, and indeed during the whole day. This was the work of the Spirit, who had been with me.

"At ten o'clock I went to bed, and in little more than half an hour afterwards I heard a noise under my head. I then thought that the Tempter was gone. Immediately afterwards

a tremor came over me, powerfully affecting me from the head over the whole body, accompanied by some sound. This was repeated several times. I felt that something holy had come over me. I then fell asleep, and about midnight or a little later in the night a most powerful tremor seized me from head to foot, with a sound like the concourse of many winds. By this sound, which was indescribable, I was shaken and thrown on my face; while, at the moment I was thus thrown down, I became wide awake, and I then saw that I had been prostrated. I wondered what all this meant, and then spoke, as if I were awake. I noticed, however, that these words were put into my mouth: 'O Thou Almighty Jesus Christ, who of Thy great mercy deignest to come to so great a sinner, make me worthy of this grace!' I lifted up my hands and prayed, when a hand came and strongly pressed my hands. I then continued my prayer and said, 'O Thou who hast promised to receive in mercy all sinners, Thou canst not otherwise than keep this Thy word!' I lay on His bosom and looked at Him face to face. It was a countenance with a holy expression, and so that it cannot be described. It was also smiling, and I really believe that His countenance was such during His life on earth."

With this remarkable narration we should bear in mind Swedenborg's later account of the manner in which the Lord at times appears in personal presence to spirits and angels, and at rare intervals to men,—that it is not in His own proper person, which is too holy and infinite for near approach, but in the person of an angel, so filled for the time being with the Spirit of the Lord that the angel's own spirit is superseded, and his face shines with the Divine radiance. Compare the angel's appearance to John in vision, now as the Lord Himself and again as an angel, his fellow-servant. This is evidently the nature of Swedenborg's present vision, or rather dream, for it occurred during sleep, and involved some of the incongruities of expression that are so familiar in dreams. Yet, as showing the process of Swedenborg's

spiritual preparation, it is most valuable to us, as it was most memorable to him. The record continues :—

“He addressed me, and asked if I had a sound-health pass [the assurance of a clean heart]. I answered, ‘O Lord, Thou knowest better than I;’ when He said, ‘Do it then!’ This, as I perceived in my mind, signified, ‘Love Me really,’ or, ‘Do what thou hast promised.’ O God, impart to me grace for this! I perceived that I could not do it by my own strength. I now awoke in a tremor. I again came into such a state that, whether asleep or awake, I was in a train of thought. I thought, ‘What can this mean? Has it been Christ, the Son of God, whom I have seen? But it is sinful in me to doubt this.’ As we are, however, commanded to try the spirits, I reflected on everything; and from what had happened the previous night I perceived that during the whole of that night I had been purified and encompassed and preserved by the Holy Spirit, and thus had been prepared for this purpose; and then that I had fallen on my face: and I thought of the words I had uttered, and considered that the prayer did not come from me, but that the words were put into my mouth, yet so that it was I who spoke; and further that all was holy. From all this I perceived that it was the Son of God Himself who had descended with such a sound, by which I had been prostrated on the floor; who made the prayer, and thereby declared that He was Jesus. I prayed for grace, because I had so long entertained doubts on the subject, and because it had entered into my thoughts to demand a miracle, which I now found was unbecoming. Thereupon I began to pray, and prayed only for grace,—more I could not utter; but afterwards I added to this prayer, and prayed that I might receive love, which is Jesus Christ’s work and not my own. In the mean time tremors often passed over me.

“About day-break I fell asleep again, and then I had continually in my thought how Christ conjoins Himself to mankind. Holy thoughts came, but they were of such a nature

as to be unfathomable, for I cannot express with my pen the least part of those things which happened. I only know that I have had such thoughts. . . .

"I must not forget that it also entered into my thoughts that the Holy Spirit desired to lead me to Jesus, and present me to Him as a work that had been prepared by Him [the Holy Spirit] ; and that I must not claim anything to myself, but that all is His, although of grace He appropriates it to us. . . .

"This much have I learned thus far in spiritual things, that there is nothing for it but to humble one's self, and with all humility to desire nothing but the grace of Christ. I strove from my own self to obtain love ; but this is presumptuous, for when any one has God's grace, he leaves himself to Christ's pleasure, and acts according to His pleasure. A person is happiest when he is in God's grace. With the humblest prayer I had to ask forgiveness before my conscience could be appeased ; for, before doing so, I was still in temptation. The Holy Spirit taught me all this, but I in my weak understanding passed over humility, which yet is the foundation of all."

Here we observe the manner of thought in which Swedenborg had been educated,—of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as distinct in person, and of one as mediating with another. He had not yet learned what he afterwards taught so long and earnestly, that the Father is in the Son, and that the Holy Spirit is His Divine operation in men. But he was beginning to learn by actual experience what he was soon to teach the world, and what had hitherto been a mystery fruitful of unbelief,—how a man can be led in freedom and reason to accept the will of the Spirit in place of his natural will, and thus of the Spirit to be born again.

"*April 7 and 8.* . . . I was also in a temptation where thoughts invaded me which I could not control ; nay, they poured in so powerfully that all my other thoughts were kept under, and full liberty was given them to resist the power of

the Spirit, which leads in a different direction. The infestation was indeed so strong that, unless God's grace had been stronger, I must either have succumbed or become mad. During that time I could not direct my thoughts to the contemplation of Christ whom I had seen for that brief moment. The action of the Spirit and its power affected me so that I almost lost my senses. . . . I can compare this only to a pair of scales, in one of which is our own will and sinful nature, and in the other the power of God. These our Lord disposes in temptation so that they are in a state of equilibrium ; as soon, then, as it is borne down on this side, He helps it up again. Such have I found to be the case, speaking in a natural manner ; from which it follows that this is far from being our own power, for that draws the scale down, and is rather opposed to than co-operating with the Spirit's power ; and consequently it is entirely our Lord's work, which is thus disposed by Him. . . . This have I learned, that the only thing in this state — and I do not know any other — is, in all humility, to thank God for His grace and to pray for it, and to recognize our own unworthiness and God's infinite grace. . . . Afterwards, when various things occurred to me of which I had thought long ago and which had become fixed in my mind, it was just as if I had been told that I had found reasons for excusing myself (this also was a great temptation for me), or again reasons for attributing to myself the good that I had done, or rather that was done through me ; but God's Spirit prevented even this, and caused me to find it otherwise. This last temptation was severer than the first, as it went to the innermost ; and to resist it I received a stronger evidence of the Spirit, for at times I broke into a perspiration. What then arose in my mind had no longer the effect of condemning me, for I had a strong assurance that I had been forgiven ; but the desire came to excuse myself and make myself free. Very often I burst into tears, not of sorrow, but of inmost joy at our Lord's deigning to be so gracious to so unworthy a sinner ; for the sum of all I found to

be this, that the one thing needful is to cast one's self in all humility on our Lord's grace, to recognize one's own unworthiness, and to thank God in humility for His grace ; for if there is a feeling of glorification contained in it, the tendency of which is towards our own honor,—whether it is a glorification of God's grace or of anything else,—such a feeling is impure. . . . I found that I was more unworthy than others and the greatest sinner for this reason, that our Lord has granted me to penetrate by thought into certain things more deeply than many others do ; and the very source of sin lies in the thoughts I am carrying out, so that my sins have on that account a deeper foundation than those of many others : and in this I found my unworthiness and my sins greater than those of other men. For it is not sufficient to declare one's own unworthiness, since the heart may be far removed from such a declaration, and it may be a mere matter of the imagination ; but actually to see that such is the case is due to the grace of the Spirit.

“Now, while I was in the spirit, I thought and strove by thought to attain a knowledge of how to avoid all that was impure. I noticed, however, that this intruded itself from the ground of the love of self on all occasions when anything was reflected upon ; as, for instance, when any one did not regard me according to my own estimation of myself, I thought, ‘Oh, if you only knew what grace I have, you would act differently.’ This, then, was not only impure, but originated in the love of self. At last I found this out, and entreated God's forgiveness ; and I then wished that others also might have the same grace, as they perhaps either have had or will have. From this I observed clearly that there was still in me that same pernicious apple which has not yet been converted, and which is Adam's root and his hereditary sin. Yes, and an infinite number of other roots of sin remain in me.”

No one who has himself begun to receive the grace that lays bare the sinfulness of the heart, can read these sentences without feeling that the writer was indeed approaching the

judgment-seat, and without earnestly desiring with him that his longed-for purification may have been accomplished. That the self-condemnation was real, and no mere show of words, is plain from its particular application, as in the following instance :—

“I saw a bookshop, and immediately the thought struck me that my work would have more effect than that of others ; yet I checked myself at once. For one serves another, and our Lord has more than a thousand ways by which to prepare a man ; so that each and every book must be left to its own merits, as a means near or remote, according to the rational condition of every man. Still arrogance crops up : may God control it, for the power is in His hands !”

And again, six months later, in London, he notes,—“I dreamed how a big dog, which I thought was fastened, flew at me and bit me in the leg. Some one came and held its terrible jaws, so that it could do no more mischief. The day before I had been at the Medical College hearing a lecture, when I was rash enough to think that I should be mentioned as one of those who understood anatomy best ; I was glad, however, that this was not done.”

He had trusted that this love for his own works was subdued and securely fastened. He had to learn again and again, like every other regenerating man, that he was dependent on the continual protection of the Lord.

“*April 10 and 11.* . . . When awake, I began thinking whether all this was not mere fantasy ; and I then noticed that my faith was vacillating. I therefore pressed my hands together and prayed that I might be strengthened in faith, which also took place immediately. Again, when thoughts occurred to me about being worthier than others, I prayed in like manner, whereupon these thoughts at once vanished ; if, therefore, our Lord in the least withdraw His hand from any one, he is out of the true path, and also out of faith, as has been manifestly the case with me.

“I slept this night about eleven hours, and during the

whole of the morning was in my usual state of internal gladness, which was, nevertheless, attended with a pang : this, I thought, arose from the power of the spirit and my own unworthiness. At last, with God's help, I came into these thoughts,—that we ought to be contented with everything which pleases the Lord, because it is for the Lord to say ; and, further, that the Spirit is not to be resisted, when we receive from God the assurance that it is God's grace which does all things for our welfare ; for if we are God's, we must be delighted with whatever He pleases to do with His own : still we must ask the Lord for this, because not even the least thing is in our own power. For this the Lord gave me His grace. I reflected upon this, desiring to understand the reason why all this happens to me. Yet this was sinful ; for my thoughts ought not to have gone in that direction, but I ought to have prayed to the Lord for power to control them. It ought to be enough for us that it so pleases the Lord. In everything we ought only to call upon Him, pray to and thank Him, and with humility recognize our own unworthiness.

"I am still weary in my body and mind ; for I know nothing except my own unworthiness, and am in pain on account of being a wretched creature. I see by this knowledge that I am unworthy of the grace I have received. . . . I have therefore adopted the following motto :—

"God's will be done ; I am Thine and not mine.

"God give grace for this ; for it is not mine.

"*April 11 and 12.* . . . There is not a single thought which is not very much alloyed with uncleanness and impurity. It is therefore best that man should every hour and every moment acknowledge that he is deserving of the punishment of hell ; but that God's grace and mercy which are in Jesus Christ overlook it. I have, indeed, observed that our whole will into which we are born, and which is ruled by the body and introduces thought, is opposed to the Spirit which does this ; wherefore there is a continual strife, and we can by no manner of means unite ourselves with the Spirit,

which by grace is with us ; and hence it is that we are dead to everything good, but to everything evil we are inclined from ourselves. For this reason we must at all times acknowledge ourselves guilty of innumerable sins, because our Lord God knows all, and we only very little about them ; we know only so much as enters into our thoughts, and only when it also enters into the actions, do we become convinced of it.

"*April 12 and 13.* . . . God's grace thus showed me that I had to strive after salvation amid fear and trembling. But I have for my motto : ' God's will be done ; I am Thine and not mine ; ' as therefore I have given myself from myself to the Lord, He may dispose of me after His own pleasure. In the body there seemed to be something of discontent, but in the spirit joy ; for the grace of our Lord does this. May God strengthen me therein !

"I was continually in a state of combat between thoughts which were antagonistic to one another. I pray Thee, O Almighty God, that thou wouldst grant me the grace of being Thine and not mine. Pardon my saying that I am Thine and not mine ; it is God's privilege and not mine to say so. I pray for the grace of being Thine, and of not being left to myself.

"*April 13 and 14.* . . . During the whole day I was in conflicting thought, which tried to destroy that which was of the Spirit by abusive language. I found therefore that the temptation was very strong. By the grace of the Spirit I was led to fix my thoughts on a piece of wood or a tree, then on the cross of Christ, and on the crucified Christ ; and whenever I did so, the other thoughts fell down flat as of their own accord. . . . God be praised who gave me this weapon ! May God graciously keep me in this, that I may have my crucified Saviour constantly before my eyes. For I dared not look on my Jesus, whom I have seen, because I am an unworthy sinner ; but I ought rather to fall on my face, and it is Jesus who then takes me up to Himself that I may see Him. For this reason I look upon the crucified Christ."

Yet even here his next night's dreams showed him that he had, perhaps, gone too far, in claiming the crucified Christ as his own. But whenever he moved to a distance, falling on his knees and praying before Him, it seemed that the sins of his weakness were forgiven.

In these dreams and reflections many things occurred that had immediate reference to Swedenborg's studies and writings in the day-time. But we must restrict our quotations to such as throw light on his spiritual progress, and to only the most instructive of these.

"April 15 and 16. . . . The most singular thing is that I now represent the inner man, and, as it were, another than myself; that I visit my own thoughts, frighten them, that is, the things of my memory; that I accuse another. This shows that matters are changed now, and that I represent the inner man, who is opposed to another [the outer man]. For I prayed to God that I might not be my own, but that God might please to let me be His."

"April 18 and 19. . . . I was at Divine service, where I noticed that thoughts on matters of faith, respecting Christ, His merit, and the like, even though they be entirely favorable and confirmatory, still cause a certain disquietude, and give rise to opposing thoughts which cannot be resisted, whenever man tries to believe from his own understanding, and not from the Lord's grace. At last it was granted me by the grace of the Spirit to receive faith without reasoning upon it, and thus to be assured in respect to it. I then saw, as it were below me, my own thoughts, by which faith was confirmed; I laughed in my mind at them, but still more at those by which they were impugned and opposed. Faith appeared to be far above the thoughts of my understanding. Then only I got peace: may God strengthen me in it! For it is His work; and mine so much the less, as my thoughts, and indeed the best of them, hinder more than they are able to promote. . . . It is therefore a higher state — I am uncertain whether it is not the highest — when man

by grace no longer mixes up his understanding in matters of faith ; although it appears as if the Lord with some persons permits the understanding to precede such states of assurance in respect to things which concern the understanding. 'Blessed are they who believe and do not see.' This I have clearly written in the Prologue [to *The Animal Kingdom*], numbers 21, 22 ; yet of my own self I could never have discovered this or arrived at the knowledge of it, but God's grace has wrought this, I being unconscious of it : afterwards, however, I perceived it from the very effect and the change in my whole interior being. This, therefore, is God's grace and His work, and to Him alone belongs eternal glory. From this I see how difficult it is for the learned, more indeed than for the unlearned, to arrive at such a faith, and consequently to conquer themselves so as to be able to smile at themselves ; for man's worship of his own understanding must first of all be abolished and overthrown, and this is God's work and not man's. It is also God's work for man to continue him in that state. Faith is in this way separated from our understanding and resides above it. This is pure faith ; the other, so long as it is mixed up with our own understanding, is impure. Man's understanding must be put in bonds, and under the government of faith. The ground of faith, however, must be this,—that He who has spoken it is God over all and Truth itself. That we must become like little children is to be understood, it seems, in this sense. . . . Faith, then, is purely God's gift, and is received by man when he lives according to the commandments of God, and when he continually prays to God for it."

Such experience and testimony is most valuable on the part of him who was at the very time engaged in exploring the philosophy of the soul in the body, to the end that the way might be made clearer for the understanding to arrive at the true objects of faith. It is to be noted, however, that the submission of the understanding which he here enjoins, is to the faith given by the grace of God in the inner mind.

"April 19 and 20. . . . God be thanked and praised ! I do not will to be my own ; I am certain of it, and believe that Thou, O God, lettest me be Thine, all my life long, and that Thou dost not take away Thy Holy Spirit from me, which strengthens and upholds me.

"April 21 and 22. . . . On awaking I heard the words, 'All is grace ;' by which is meant that all that has happened is of grace, and for the best. Afterwards, because it seemed to me I was so far separated from God that I could not yet think of Him in a sufficiently vivid manner, I came into a state of doubt whether I should not direct my journey homewards ; a crowd of confused reasons came, and my body was seized with a tremor. Yet I gathered courage and perceived that I had come here to do what was best of all, and that I had received a talent for the promotion of God's glory. I saw that all had helped together to this end ; that the Spirit had been with me from my youth for this very purpose ; wherefore I considered myself unworthy of life unless I followed the straight course. I then smiled at the other seducing thoughts, and thus at luxury, riches, and distinction which I had pursued. All these I saw to be vain ; and I discovered that he who is without them and is contented, is happier than he is who possesses them. I therefore smiled at all arguments by which I might be confirmed ; and with God's help made a resolution. May God grant His help ! . . . I further noticed that faith is a sure confidence which is received from God, which, nevertheless, consists in every man's acting according to his talent for doing good to his neighbor, and continually more and more ; that a man must do so from faith, because God has so ordered it, and must not reason any more about it, but do the work of love from obedience to faith, even though this be opposed to the lusts of the body and its persuasions. Wherefore faith without works is not the right kind of faith. A man must in reality forsake himself."

Thus we find Swedenborg learning by experience, from his own needs, and under Divine guidance, what saving faith is.

But dreams of savage dogs and of conflicts with other monsters alternated with states of peace and joy. "These were my infestations, and the struggles with my thoughts which I had vanquished. It seemed as if the words *interiorescit* [he is growing interior], *integratur* [he is being made whole], were pronounced. This means that I am being inwardly purified by means of my infestations." From another dream he learns "that God speaks with me, and that I comprehend only the least portion of what He says, because it is in representations, of which I understand as yet but very little; and further that He hears and perceives everything that is spoken, and every thought that any one entertains." From other representative dreams he understands "that I must employ my remaining time in writing upon that which is higher, and not upon worldly things which are far below; and, indeed, that I must write about that which concerns the very centre of all, and that which concerns Christ. May God be so gracious as to enlighten me respecting my duty, for I am still in some obscurity as to the direction whither I am to turn."

It was not interiorly alone that Swedenborg was being purified. Several times he notes dreams from which he learns the necessity, for spiritual clearness, of external purification and of rigorous moderation of appetite for food. "At the idea that I must henceforth apply constraint to my appetite, I came into a strange condition, and as it were into a state of chagrin; yet I was soon relieved from it after praying and singing a hymn, especially since I would no longer be my own, but live as a new creature in Christ."

Early in May, 1744, he went to London, for the better prosecution of his work, *The Animal Kingdom*. His dreams, interior struggles, and thorough purification were continued.

"May 5 and 6. . . . This now is the sum of all: First, that there is nothing but grace by which we can be saved. Second, grace is in Jesus Christ, who is the seat of grace. Third, love to God in Christ promotes salvation. Fourth,

man then allows himself to be led by the spirit of Jesus. Fifth, everything that comes from ourselves is dead, and is nothing but sin, and worthy of eternal damnation. Sixth, for good can come from no other source save the Lord."

"*London, May 19 and 20.* On the 20th I was to go to the Lord's supper in the Swedish Church, after having had many pernicious thoughts, from which I perceived that my body is in a continual state of rebellion: this was also represented to me by scum, which was to be skimmed off. On Sunday morning it came very clearly from the Spirit into my lips that this [the Holy Supper] is the manna which descends from heaven. This came to me neither in sleep nor in full wakefulness, but it came most distinctly into my thought and into my lips that by this is signified Christ in the Lord's Supper. The day before I had been prepared, so that I was interiorly tranquil and peaceful, being contented with the Lord's dispensation; the whole time also I felt the strong influence of the Holy Spirit, and the whole body was filled with a delight in the heavenly kingdom upon earth. . . . In this state I hope to continue, so long as by our Lord's grace alone I walk in pure paths and have right intentions; for as soon as I turn aside and try to find my joy in worldly things, this state of delight ceases."

The manner in which Swedenborg up to this period speaks of the Holy Spirit, as constantly affecting him, is not quite in accordance with his habit after spiritual influences became more familiar and better understood by him. In our last quotation the influence which he calls of the Holy Spirit may have been immediately that. But from his later instruction we should infer that the influence of which he commonly speaks as that of "the Spirit" was the influence of spirits and angels, sometimes, but not necessarily always, under the control of the Holy Spirit. It is to be observed that he had not yet learned much about the constant presence and influence of spirits and angels. He was moved by "the Evil One," or by "the Spirit." About this time he was led, as

John Wesley had been a few years earlier, among "the Moravian Brethren [in London], who maintain that they are the true Lutherans, and that they feel the influx of the Holy Spirit." But he was withheld, and "not allowed to join their brotherhood." "God alone knows," says he, "whether the principle of the interior which is the influx of God's Spirit is constantly with man."

"*July 21 and 22.* . . . A little child would take hold of me and take me with him, but it seemed to me as if at last I refused. This means *that we must be like children in respect to the Lord.* Since children have now been represented to me twice, and also in the preceding night, I lighted upon these thoughts,—that we must not trouble ourselves for what is spiritual to such a degree that it comes to us through our own power, nor for worldly things; but that like children we must cast our cares on the Lord. . . . On awaking I had a vision, when I saw much gold before me; the air was full of it. This denotes that the Lord, who disposes all things, gives me in spiritual and in worldly matters all that I need, whenever like a child I cast my care upon Him.

"*July 29 and 30.* I saw a great beast with wings, which at times looked like a human being, yet with a great gorge. It did not dare to touch me. I pursued it with a sword, yet I had no chance, nor was I strong enough in my arms to strike it. At last I saw it standing before me with a gun, from which it fired something like poison, without however doing me any harm; for I was protected. Immediately afterwards I thrust my sword into its jaws, yet without much effect. I ascended higher. It seemed to me as if some one said that it was slain. The previous day I had been thinking of the woman and the dragon in the Book of Revelation, and I wished I could be instrumental in killing the dragon; when yet there is not anything in my power, but only in the Lord's."

Did Swedenborg then know the meaning of the dragon, that it was the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, which he

was already combating in his own efforts for true regeneration? He surely did not know, unless as in a dream, that the work in store for him was precisely that of destroying the dragon and helping into the world the man-child,—the true doctrine of the Lord's Church.¹ For he is still laboring in the day-time on *The Animal Kingdom*, and a large share of his dreams at night relate to his studies; sometimes encouraging him to expect in them the Divine assistance, sometimes warning him not to be withdrawn by them too far from what was more holy and of more importance. In this work, which he had undertaken of his own counsel, we cannot suppose that he would be easily freed from confidence in his own abilities. "Afterwards," he says, "I boasted [in a dream] of my strength, in the presence of Assessor B. This signifies that daily I sin against my God in the thoughts which cling to me, and from which no man, but God alone, can deliver me; likewise that I had boasted to D. H. about my work. On the following day I had intended to go to the communion; but I forbore when from the above I found that none but God alone can give absolution from sins; wherefore it was given me also to observe some things with respect to confession."

This was written August 5th. On the 27th he notes,—

"During the last few days I was very much troubled and oppressed by my sins, which it seemed to me had not been forgiven, and which prevented my attending the Lord's Supper the last time. Yesterday, however, it seemed to me that I had been relieved. During the night the soles of my feet appeared all white. This signifies that my sins have been forgiven."

¹ It is noticeable that Swedenborg seemed to himself to thrust his sword into the jaws of the dragon with, so far as he could see, but little effect; yet after he was taken up higher, he heard that the beast was slain. With all his might he thrust the sharp sword of true doctrine, given him from Heaven, into the jaws of the pernicious doctrine of justification by faith alone, without perceiving much effect on earth. With joy he must now learn above that the old doctrine is at its end.

CHAPTER IX.

OPENING OF SPIRITUAL SIGHT.

ABOUT this time Swedenborg began to project his treatise upon the Worship and Love of God. He seems to have felt a Divine call to write it, and at times to have doubted whether he ought not to leave his other work for the purpose. Yet it was with reference to this treatise that he received the following caution:—

“October 6 and 7. . . . Afterwards I lighted upon these thoughts and received this instruction, namely, that all love for whatever object,—as, for instance, for the work on which I am now engaged,—when the object is loved in itself and not as a means to the only love, which is to God and Jesus Christ, is a meretricious love. For this reason also this love is always compared in the Word of God to whoredom. This I have also experienced in myself. But when love to God is man’s chief love, then he does not entertain for these objects any other kind of love than that of promoting thereby his love of God.” Oct. 9 and 10. . . . A child fell over my foot, hurt himself, and screamed. I helped him to get up and said, ‘Why do you race so?’ This dream no doubt meant that I was too much in a hurry with the new work.”

As thoughts on religion filled his mind he became full of zeal to instruct others. “Afterwards I seemed to say to myself that the Lord Himself will instruct me. For, as I discovered, I am in such a state that I know nothing on this subject, except that Christ must be all in all, or God through Christ, so that we of ourselves cannot contribute the least towards it, and still less strive for it: wherefore it is best to

surrender at discretion, and were it possible to be altogether passive in this matter, it would be a state of perfection. I saw also in a vision how some beautiful bread was presented to me on a plate. This was a prediction that the Lord Himself will instruct me, as soon as I have attained that state in which I shall know nothing, and in which all my preconceived notions will be removed from me ; which is the first state of learning : or, in other words, that I must first become a child, and that then I shall be able to be nurtured in knowledge, as is being the case with me now."

Yet this preparation, this work of leading the strong man to lay down his confidence in his own strength and his love for his own works because his own, was slow and difficult, perhaps in proportion to the greatness of the intellect and of its previous triumphs. It was on the 18th of October that he had the dream, already quoted, of the big dog which he thought had been secured, and yet it flew at him and bit him. Again he notes,—

"*October 20 and 21.* It was most gracious and wonderful that on the day before I had felt myself unworthy of all the grace God had been pleased to exhibit towards me ; for love of my own self and pride were so deeply rooted in me. I therefore prayed to God that He would remove them from me, since this is not in my own power. In the evening I found myself in a most strange state of mind, such as I had never experienced before : for I despaired of God's grace, although I knew that God is so gracious, and that He has shown greater grace towards me than towards any one else. There was an anxiety in the soul, but not in the mind, though I became conscious of it only in the mind itself, without feeling any pain in the body. Afterwards I fell asleep, when it seemed to me as if I were closely pursued by two dogs. After a long time I got out of their reach, when I was told in my thoughts that the object of these strange pains was to cure me of them. Whenever, therefore, the root of what is deeply ingrained in man is removed, such a feeling of pain is caused.

This is well worth being remembered and preserved in the thoughts."

On the 27th of October he began the work on the Worship and Love of God, and laid aside, never to resume, *The Animal Kingdom*. "May God lead me in the right way! Christ said that I must not undertake anything without Him." "In the morning on awaking I fell into a swoon or fainting fit, similar to that which I experienced about six or seven years ago at Amsterdam, when I entered upon the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*; but it was much more subtle, so that I was almost dead. It came upon me as soon as I saw the light. I threw myself upon my face, when it gradually passed off. In the mean time short, interrupted slumbers took possession of me; so that this swoon, or *deliquium*, was deeper, but I soon got over it. This signifies that my head is being cleared, and is in fact being cleansed of all that would obstruct these thoughts: as was also the case the last time, because it gave me penetration, especially whilst writing. This was represented to me now in that I appeared to write a fine hand."

Here ends abruptly this wonderful record of the introduction of a man, by gradual separation from the life and work that was natural to him, into spiritual life, spiritual association, and spiritual labor in the service of his Master. For the completion of this process we must refer to what he says incidentally in his various works, and in answer to inquiries. That this wondrous revelation to him of heights of grace and mercy and bliss he had never conceived, together with depths of selfishness and sin in his own nature he had never sound-ed, was given in completion of the preparation of his long studies for some great service to men, he seems already persuaded; but what this service is to be, he does not yet foresee. For the time being and for himself the purpose of the revelation is plain,—to lead him to lay down his own will and his own self-intelligent prudence, so as to come nearer to the Lord and to be ready and willing to do His bidding, under

His guidance, in place of his own. This change of heart required of him and granted to him, this acceptance of the Divine will in place of his own,—was it not that which our Lord Himself alone perfectly fulfilled in His own humanity, that which He enjoined on all who would follow Him in the regeneration, and that by the fulfilment of which in themselves He would come again to them and manifest Himself to them?

The coming again of the Lord was not to be a merely temporary coming, for a transient purpose, but the complete fulfilment of His purpose, partially fulfilled at His first coming, of being forever with men, their God. From the very beginning the Lord has sought to be present to the consciousness of men, through the thunder and through the still small voice of nature, through revelation, tradition, visions, and dreams, in their reason, and in their heart. By the flesh which He took upon Himself, He became in a measure visible and audible to them: not in all His fulness,—for the finite cannot fully manifest the Infinite; not for all time,—for the flesh is but for a moment. But by bringing His Divine Life down into human life, while dwelling in the flesh, He acquired a real presence with man in an unlimited and permanent manner, with all His fulness and forever, when the material finiteness was dissolved. He did not go away from the disciples when He ascended up into Heaven, but His Divine fulness became too great for their vision, and so He appeared to be withdrawn from their sight. Previously it had been said, "The Holy Spirit was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified." After He had ascended, after the dissolution of what was finite, commenced in the sepulchre, was complete, from all the fulness of the Godhead in infinite humanity came the power of the Holy Spirit to the disciples, working its own works through them. Thus was their Lord present with them everywhere and at all times, more nearly, more intimately, and more completely than when He was in their sight.

In this way the Lord desired to be thenceforth dwelling with men, their God. Nothing was lacking on His part. All that was needed was that men should keep their hearts open to Him standing at the door and knocking. But their hearts were yet hardened, and they soon closed the door. This He had foreseen. He knew but too well that as yet it was because they had been fed and were full that they followed Him. But He was preparing them, as fast as could be done consistently with their freedom, for a reception of Himself that would be from free choice of His perfection, in place of their imperfection ; from love, and therefore permanent. And this new reception He foretold as a new coming on His part, though He is always at the door. He foretold it in two forms. In the one it was to be not with observation, but in the stillness of the heart, the silent entrance of the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him ; but the true disciples, they who have followed their Lord in the regeneration, know Him ; for He dwelleth with them and shall be in them. This is His entrance into the heart when the door at which He always knocketh, at last is opened.¹ In the other form it is foretold that the coming of the Son of Man shall be in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. This is a presentation to the eye of the spirit, to the understanding, that should make one with the entrance into the heart. How, after the opening of the heart, this presentation of the Lord to the understanding, in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, was effected with Swedenborg, and how his own work

¹ It is curious to find a better appreciation of the Spirit of Truth than prevailed in the Churches among the Alchemists or Hermetic philosophers, commonly supposed to be seeking the philosopher's stone for the making of gold, but, according to others, handing down under the symbol of the stone a very ancient study for the perfecting of man. Thomas Vaughan, writing on Hermetics, or Alchemy, in the middle of the 17th century, said : "God the Father is the metaphysical, supercelestial *Sun* ; the Second Person is the *Light* ; and the third is *Amor Igneus*, or a Divine Heat proceeding from both. Now without the presence of this Heat, there is no reception of the Light, and by consequence no reception from the Father of Light."

for which he was prepared was found to be in aiding this presentation to the understanding of his fellow-men, will be seen in what follows.

Let us notice first, that, coincidently with his increasing submission of heart to the Divine guidance, we find a growing sensitiveness or openness to spiritual impressions. Indeed, whether as a constitutional peculiarity, or as the consequence of his absorbed habit of thought, Swedenborg had a certain faculty of retrocession from physical activity when thinking deeply. In *The Animal Kingdom* he had remarked, "When the mind is thinking very intently, and breathing tacitly and slowly, then the lungs, elevated to a certain degree, appear in like manner to keep silence, and to send out and draw in the air almost imperceptibly, so as not to disturb the analyses of the rational mind by any motion on their part" (part ii. 157). And again, as quoted by Dr. Wilkinson,— "If we carefully attend to profound thoughts, we shall find that *when we draw breath*, a host of ideas rush from beneath as through an opened door into the sphere of thought,—whereas *when we hold the breath*, and slowly let it out, we deeply keep the while in the tenor of our thought, and communicate as it were with the higher faculty of the soul; as I have observed in my own person times without number. Retaining or holding back the breath is equivalent to having intercourse with the soul: attracting or drawing it amounts to intercourse with the body."¹

It appears from Swedenborg's teachings that in the other world there is a vast variety in the manner of breathing, the breathing of each society being in consonance with and expressing its state of thought. The world of spirits, where all are first gathered after death, has a common external breathing, naturally connected with the physical respiration of men while yet in the world. With this breathing flows in our

¹ With this it is instructive to compare the experience of the author of *Self-formation, or the History of an Individual Mind*, who found his mental power to serve him only during expiration.

common course of thought. The breathing of angels is more interior, more rapid, and less sensible. It is possible also for men, when their thought is interior, elevated, and abstracted from the world, to have their ordinary sensible breathing suspended, with its common course of thought, and to have it replaced by a more subtile, tacit respiration in sympathy with that of heaven : at such times men come more immediately into communication with angels, and receive their thoughts, or even become conscious of their presence. Such, according to Swedenborg, was the state of the men represented by Adam in the Garden of Eden. Since the Fall it has become rare ; but something of the kind seems to have been given to Swedenborg in his infancy, and again in the deeper studies of his later years :—

“I was first accustomed to breathe in this way in infancy, when praying my morning and evening prayers : then at times afterwards, when I was exploring the agreements of the heart and lungs, especially when I was writing from inner thought what I published on these subjects, and this during several years. At this time I noticed frequently that there was a tacit respiration, scarcely sensible, about which it was given afterwards to think, and then to write. In this way for many years from infancy I was introduced into such breathings, especially through intense speculation, in which the [ordinary] breathing subsided ; otherwise no intense speculation of truth can be given. Then afterwards, when heaven was opened, so that I spoke with spirits, I breathed so completely in this way that I did not take in a [common] breath for the space of about an hour, only just enough air being drawn to enable me to think : in this way I was introduced by the Lord into interior modes of breathing. Perhaps also in sleep ; for I observed sometimes that when I was sinking into sleep, respiration was almost taken away from me, so that I awoke and caught my breath. Moreover, when I am observing, writing, and thinking nothing of the kind, I suppose that my respiration is checked without my reflecting

upon it, and such things take place that the changes are innumerable. Nor could I observe the variations at the time, because they took place without my reflection. This now I can say, that each state, each sphere, and thus each society, especially the interior ones, has in me a fitting respiration, into which I bring myself without reflection. By this as a means it is given me also to be among spirits and angels." (S. D. 3464.)

Yet it was long after spiritual manifestations began to occur to him, before he thought of the possibility of conversing with spirits. Indeed, he knew nothing about spirits. He believed in the Holy Spirit and in the power of the Devil. He believed in angels, but knew nothing of the world filled with the spirits and angels who had once been men. We see how gradually the knowledge came to him :—

"*October 3 to 6.* I have noticed several times that there are various kinds of spirits. The one Spirit, which is that of Christ, is the only one that has all blessedness with it ; by other spirits man is enticed a thousand ways to follow them, but woe to those who do so. Another time Korah and Dathan occurred to me, who brought strange fire to the altar, and could not offer it. Such is the case when a different fire is introduced than that which comes from Christ. I saw also something like a fire coming to me. It is necessary therefore that a distinction should be made between spirits, which, however, cannot be done except through Christ Himself and His Spirit.

Some years later, after referring to the sundry spiritual manifestations which we have already described, he says,—

"At last a spirit spoke a few words to me, when I was greatly astonished at his perceiving my thoughts. Afterwards, when my mind was opened, I was greatly astonished that I could converse with spirits ; as the spirits were astonished that I should wonder. From this it may be concluded how difficult it is for man to believe that he is governed by the Lord through spirits, and how difficult it is for him to

give up the opinion that he lives his own life of himself without the agency of spirits."

The date of this occurrence appears to have been the middle of April, 1745, while still engaged, perhaps, on *The Worship and Love of God*. The fullest account that is preserved is given by his friend Robsahm, who says that in answer to his own inquiry where and how it was granted him to see and hear what takes place in the other world, Swedenborg answered,—

"I was in London, and dined rather late at the inn where I was in the habit of dining and where I had my own room. My thoughts were engaged on the subjects we have been discussing. I was hungry, and ate with a good appetite. Towards the close of the meal I noticed a sort of dimness before my eyes; this became denser, and I then saw the floor covered with the most horrid crawling reptiles, such as snakes, frogs, and similar creatures. I was amazed, for I was perfectly conscious and my thoughts were clear. At last the darkness increased still more; but it disappeared all at once, and I then saw a man sitting in the corner of the room: as I was then alone, I was very much frightened at his words; for he said, '*Eat not so much.*' All became black again before my eyes, but immediately it cleared away, and I found myself alone in the room."

That this "man" was a spirit appears from Swedenborg's statement about his astonishment when a spirit first spoke a few words to him, and from Robsahm's own statement that this account was given in answer to his inquiry where and how he first came to see and hear spirits. It would seem, then, that Robsahm has made a little confusion in what he goes on to say about *the same man's* appearing the following night. And yet as, according to Swedenborg, when the Lord appears to angels and men, He does so by filling an angel with His presence and speaking through his mouth, it may be that it was the same angel from the Lord who had been present with him in the spiritual thoughts on which he was

engaged in the day-time, and then warned him not to yield too much to the demands of the body, and again in the night instructed him as to the labors for which the Lord was preparing him,—first seeming as a man, giving human admonition, and then as the Lord, uttering His commands. According to Robsahm, Swedenborg continued,—“I went home ; and during the night the same man revealed himself to me again, but I was not frightened now. He then said that he was the Lord God, the Creator of the world, and the Redeemer, and that He had chosen me to unfold to men the spiritual sense of the Scripture, and that He Himself would show to me what I should write on this subject. That same night also were opened to me, so that I became thoroughly convinced of their reality, the world of spirits, heaven, and hell ; and I recognized there many acquaintances of every condition in life. From that day I gave up the study of all worldly science and labored in spiritual things, according as the Lord had commanded me to write. Afterwards the Lord opened my eyes, very often daily, so that in midday I could see into the other world, and in a state of perfect wakefulness converse with angels and spirits.”

The remarkable absence of dignity and circumstance, such as imagination would invent, in this first introduction to the sight and hearing of the other world, witnesses nothing against its plain truth. We may wonder that the first announcement should be so simple a prohibition. On this Swedenborg says not a word. We have no reason to suppose him an inordinate eater ; but doubtless in hunger he gave himself up for the time to the body's demand for satisfaction, and his mind fell from its high thoughts. The spirits or angels with him would perceive his fall, and would, if opportunity were given, rebuke him. Fasting, as well as prayer, is the means of release from selfishness and evil. With Swedenborg there had been reformation of life, and then internal regeneration of a very deep kind. This regeneration, as we have seen, must needs work outwards till it cleansed the whole life, more per-

fectly, because from internal ground, than the first reformation could do. It may well be that the last stronghold of selfish spirits, not yet given up to the Lord of all, was that of outward sense. So our Lord Himself finished the work of purifying His humanity by overcoming the resistance of the body. So the last thing He did for the disciples, before giving to them the bread and the wine that represented His own life, was to wash their feet, that they might be clean every whit. So, too, Swedenborg tells us, those who are internally prepared for heaven and who have been delivered from all evil except that which belongs to the infirmities of the body, are taken up into heaven immediately after death. Whether his own deliverance from evil was now completed, we cannot say; but such is the appearance. Indeed, we have in the "Diary" a single line of direct testimony. He is describing, under date of Dec. 1, 1748, the return, when a man comes into the other life, of whatever evil he has done in the world, with all its hate and misery, so that he lives as it were his life over again. But he adds that this is true only of the evil; that with the good all their good states of love and friendship return with highest joy and happiness. Then follows the simple note, "Experience that there was not evil with me." From this we may infer that, by the predominance of the good with him, what evil there had been was now mercifully removed, not to be a means of assault from evil spirits.

Spiritual temptations, however, he had to undergo, many and severe; that is, assaults of evil spirits on all that he held good and true. In the war that was to ensue between the powers of heaven and the powers of hell, between the light of the coming of the Lord in His Word, and the darkness of priestcraft and infidelity, he held the advanced post. He was the standard-bearer on earth, the witness of what was to come. Against the standard, against his testimony, there was of necessity a combined attack of all the powers of hell. Of course he suffered spiritual violence, but undismayed and unhurt; for it was not himself against whom they warred.

When they wished to destroy him, they said that they could not, *because he was nothing; if he were anything, they could do it.* (S. D. 4067.) Thus he was shown to the life, that if he regarded anything in himself as his own, the devils would have something to attack, and would destroy him. It was the Spirit of Truth, coming to guide into all truth, that was the object of their attack; and this defended Itself and him. Thus he says, when unfolding the spiritual sense of Genesis,—

“I have now for some years, though also in the body, been with spirits in the other life, and surrounded by evil spirits, yea the worst, to whom it was permitted to pour forth their venom and infest me in every way they could; yet they could not hurt the least hair, I was so protected by the Lord.” (A. C. 59.)

Even on the seas, it would seem, this calming protection was about him. In the fulfilment of his mission, writing and publishing, he was frequently crossing the stormy North Sea, passing to and fro between London and Stockholm or Amsterdam. The master of a ship in which he often sailed told him that he would always be welcome to his passage, for with him on board the voyage was sure to be prosperous.

In many ways we see in Swedenborg, a fellow-servant, that submission of all things to the Divine will, that guidance and protection by the Spirit, of which our Lord gave us the perfect example in His own life on earth, and which He promised to all who would follow Him in the regeneration. That it was given to Swedenborg in so eminent a degree was at once as the necessary means for the service given him to perform, and as an example and aid to us in preparation for what our Lord has in store for us at this His final coming.

The immediate work and the great work given Swedenborg to do was the unfolding of the spiritual sense from within the literal sense of the Word. To this labor, for which, as we have found, he had previously some inclination and some special preparation, he now addressed himself with all dili-

gence, after seeing through the press his little work on the *Worship and Love of God*. This work we have seen begun in 1744, and it was published as far as completed, two parts, in 1745. It is interesting as marking the transition period, when the author's thoughts were turning to spiritual things in a certain ecstasy, before they had come into clear light and he had settled down to his work of writing what was Divinely directed. It is a philosophic prose-poem on the creation of the earth and the birth and education of Adam and Eve, of fine fancy and great beauty, from which we should quote largely if we had not more weighty matter pressing on our attention. Being questioned about it in later years, the author is said to have replied that the work "was certainly founded on truth, but that somewhat of egotism had introduced itself into it, as he had made a playful use in it of the Latin language, on account of having been ridiculed for the simplicity of his Latin style in later years. For this reason he did not regard it as equal to his other works." Whatever of personal exhilaration came to him on his first introduction to the study of Divine things, may be said to have effervesced and thrown off all its foam in this little work. From this time forth we have nothing but the clearest statement, in the utmost simplicity of language, with no thought of self and not the least labor for effect. The change is well stated by Dr. Wilkinson, in his "Biography":—

"Certainly, in turning from his foregone life to that which now occupies us, we seem to be treating of another person,—of one on whom the great change has passed, who has tasted the blessings of death and disburdened his spiritual part, of mundane cares, sciences, and philosophies. The spring of his lofty flights in nature sleeps in the dust beneath his feet. The liberal charm of his rhetoric is put off, never to be resumed. . . . It is a clear instance of disembodiment,—of emancipation from a worldly lifetime; and we have now to contemplate Swedenborg, still a mortal, as he rose into the other world. From that elevation he as little recurred to his

scientific life, though he had its spirit with him, as a freed soul to the body in the tomb: he only possessed it in a certain high memory, which offered its result to his new pursuits."

Our Lord in the flesh spoke in a two-fold capacity,—as God in declaring that He was one with the Father, that whoever had seen Him had seen the Father, that all power was given unto Him in heaven and on earth; and in calling all men unto Him for their salvation; but as man in declaring that he did nothing of himself, in resigning his own will to the Father's will, and in giving up his mortal life on the cross. In all this His purpose was at once to show men His Divine love for them, and to give them an example and a helping hand, in their own nature, in what this love required of them.

To understand this mystery,—how in Jesus Christ dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, how in Him they saw both God and man, the Father brought forth to view in the Son,—required an understanding of discrete degrees of existence, of the indwelling of one within another, and of the action of the outer, as of itself, but from the life of the degree within, not possessed by the men of that age. Paul, almost alone, seems to have had some apprehension of this philosophy, in his declaration that there is a spiritual body as well as a natural body, and that the things of God are not received by the natural man, but are spiritually discerned. The Church, as a whole, had no appreciation of it. In fact, it requires something more than intellectual acumen for its right apprehension. In broad terms it may be stated that man can have no appreciation of what does not exist, in an image, in himself. Now there exist in every man, open or latent, degrees natural, spiritual, and celestial. The natural degree is first opened, being that of natural light,—the light of this world, of the senses and of natural reason. With a learned man it is open wider and deeper than with an ignorant one, but it is

the natural degree still. The spiritual degree is entirely distinct: its light is the light of heaven, the light of love to the neighbor, by which things are seen totally different from what they appear by the light of the world and of natural love to self. This is the degree in which, as Paul says, the things of God are spiritually discerned, which are to the natural mind but foolishness. But this spiritual degree lies unknown until it is opened, and it is opened in no other way than by resistance to the demands of the natural state, as evil, and prayer to the Lord for deliverance. And when the mind is opened into this new stage of life, the man is born again.

Regeneration is the means by which spiritual discernment comes, by which the mind learns to appreciate the distinction of degrees, and is enabled to understand the relation of the Son to the Father, of the Divine to the Divine Human.¹ But regeneration has not distinguished the Christian Church. The Lord taught it as the means of entrance into His kingdom and illustrated it, exhibiting its type in the glorification of His Humanity, by which He replaced the human will with the Divine; but Christians, as a body, have not followed Him in the regeneration, have not accepted His Divine will in place of their own. They have desired heaven, but they have desired it as they would have desired higher places at this world's tables, from their own will and their love of what is good for themselves; not from His will and His love for the good of others. This is the reason that they have not understood in its simplicity how, by the glorification, the Lord in His Humanity accepted the will of the Father, that is, the Father Himself, as His own

¹ It is related of the Rev. John Clowes, one of the earliest translators of Swedenborg's works, that he purchased a copy of *The True Christian Religion*, on the advice of a friend, but at first saw nothing in it to interest him. Some time after, as he was about leaving home for a visit, he took down the volume, opened it, and was annoyed at seeing the phrase "*Divinum Humanum*," which had no meaning to him. He put up the book and went his way. But on his visit, early in the morning, these words appeared to him in Divine glory for a full hour; and again the next morning. He hastened home, read the book diligently, and became a most loving receiver of its doctrines.

will, in place of that of the mother which He put away ; and thereby became one with the Father, or the Father brought forth to view in the Son, to whom was all power in heaven and in earth. Correlatively, without this understanding, in substance, real regeneration was not possible. Except by following our Lord in the regeneration, we cannot be regenerated ; except by perceiving that He laid down His own maternal human will, in order to receive in its place the paternal Divine will, we cannot embrace His help for laying down our own will, the will of the flesh, to receive from Him in its place His Divine will ; and without this help we can do nothing.

It is not within our knowledge how many or how few in the Christian world have individually gained an appreciation of this help and embraced it, and followed their Lord in the regeneration. No doubt they have been many. But this we know, that their numbers have not been so great as to characterize the doctrine of the Church. From the first declarations by Council down to the latest creed of the day, no such doctrine has been taught. Even Peter himself departed so far from the simplicity of expression of his Master, as to give countenance to those who taught that they who were to be saved were elected by the foreknowledge of the Father, for sanctification and justification by faith in their Lord Jesus, in strange contrast to the simple teaching of James,—“Submit yourselves to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. Draw nigh to God, and He will draw nigh to you.” In no creed is the simple Gospel truth stated, that there is One God made known to us in the Son, in whom the will of the Father is the soul, His human presence is the body, and the Holy Spirit is His quickening influence into men ; and that our salvation depends on making His regeneration our own, by overcoming our natural will and accepting His, as He overcame the human will and brought the Divine down into its place. The early departures from this simplicity seem to have originated in efforts to display human

wisdom, and to have been confirmed by ambition for dominion and by ill-will in place of charity for those who did not accept it. Instead of "the wisdom that is from above" and "is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits," there came with "bitter envying and strife" in their hearts a "wisdom" that "descendeth not from above, but is earthy, sensual, devilish." (James iii. 14-17.) In particular, the fiction of attributing one character to the Father and another to the Son destroyed all simplicity and charity of faith, making two distinct persons, therefore two distinct Divine Beings of the One God, and introduced the "partiality and hypocrisy" attributed by James to the wisdom that "descendeth not from above." When men were persuaded that God had elected some of them, and not others, or that He had delegated the right of election to the Pope and his clergy, hypocrisy took the place of repentance, and earthly gifts or professions of faith were laid upon the altar in place of the true fruits of faith, the works of mercy and love.

What now is needed in order to restore the simple faith of the Gospel, and to establish it on a sure foundation? First and foremost we need the desire for regeneration, for drawing near to our Lord and receiving new life from Him, to which is given the light that shows the way. This alone is sufficient for those who can accept a simple faith which accords with their love, without being anxious to understand its means. But for the help of those who want rational confirmation of the faith that is in them, there is need of an understanding of the manner in which the higher degree may reside in the lower, and the lower, by inspiration of the higher, voluntarily accept its life for its own and act therefrom, and thus become its face, its presence, itself in lower place and form,—as the Divine-human presents the Divine, and the natural man the spiritual, on accepting the higher life for their own. Other supporting knowledge is required, but this is the fundamental, central truth of which there has been the greatest need. When

this is apprehended, there is no difficulty in understanding how our Lord, in the human form and nature, by the inspiration of the Divine Love, rejected every temptation of the maternal human, and accepted the Divine in its place, until there was no more anything left from the mother, but all was from the Divine, Divine-human, one with the Father, with no thought, no desire but His, and was Himself made manifest to men. At the same time we understand how, in overcoming the tendency of the human nature to sin, He gained the means of being forever present with us in full power to overcome our tendency, provided we accept His aid ; and that thus He saves all who will accept His salvation, who will from Him resist the Devil and their own self-will, and obey His commands ; for therein they suffer Him to put away their evil will and accept His will, first in their interior, spiritual mind, and at last in the external, natural mind, being born again of both water and of the Spirit.

Swedenborg, in his investigation of the constitution of matter, was early struck with the necessity of recognizing one degree within another. In his *Principia* he asserted that there are three atmospheres proceeding from the sun,—one more subtile and within another, and the medium of a more subtile force.¹ Later, in the study of the human body, with a view to learning the seat and the operation of the soul, he found himself more and more impressed with the immanence of one degree of substance and action within another, until, some years before his illumination, before the spiritual world was open to him or he thought of studying theology, he wrote, as we have seen, on the doctrine of discrete degrees and on the correspondence of one degree with another. He now saw that the spirit was of a degree distinct from and within that of the body, with a perfect correspondence between one and the other ; and he was persuaded that this correspondence was the hieroglyphic key to the inward meaning of the

¹ The physicists of the present day have not yet made out the three, but they find a certainty of two, with at least a possibility of a third.

Scriptures. To the unfolding of this he cast a longing eye. But before this was given him to do, he had to learn by experience the discrete degrees in the mind, the spiritual discretely within and above the natural, the one living voluntarily from the Lord, the other from and for itself.¹ This he learned, when ready, by being lifted nearer to the Lord and being shown in His light the sinfulness of the natural will, by which he was led to pray and strive with all his might for deliverance, until at last he had the happiness of feeling, from the Divine Presence in the spiritual mind, that he no longer desired to live from His own will, but only from the Lord's. In the outer mind, connected with the body, there was still something of sadness ; but within there was joy and peace. Thus then Swedenborg was trained, both by theory and by experience, to appreciate and unfold the Gospel doctrine of the incarnation and redemption.

The Scriptures are the Word of God. This Word is clothed in human ideas and human language, just as, for personal manifestation, God clothed Himself in human nature and a human body. In no other way could man hear or see Him. Both the verbal and the personal revelations are for man's eternal salvation. Their use to him does not end with this world, but endures to eternity ; for Divinity Itself is hardly less incomprehensible and invisible to our spirit than to our body ; for the one It needs a human clothing as much as for the other. This needs to be learned, for it has not been understood ; but it is evident to any one who rightly considers how incomprehensible Infinity must be to finite humanity in all conditions. In heaven, as well as on earth, the Divine Presence is in the Holy Word and in the now Divine Humanity. The Word of God must be full of Divine and angelic

¹ In his theological works we find Swedenborg constantly referring to man's *proprium*. No English word is adequate to express his meaning, which is, imperfectly stated, man's permitted proprietorship and field of free action, within and about himself, in which is his power of reaction towards the Divine ; in short, the very ground of his free-will. This, originally with Swedenborg a philosophic discovery, is the groundwork of his spiritual philosophy.

meaning, within the letter, as the Humanity of our Lord was full of the Divinity; and it is the ladder by which man may climb up into heaven, by which his mind may be opened upward through successive degrees into the thoughts of the angels with whom his home is prepared. Such preparation and such association is the use and the happiness of this world, too long foregone, but to be bestowed in the Holy City that is to descend from God out of heaven. More precisely, the understanding of the Word which the angels have, in which they live and move and have their being, is itself the Holy City to come down out of heaven, to be the tabernacle of God with men; and this descent of the Holy City is again the coming of the Lord, to the understanding of men, in the clouds of heaven, the literal sense, with power and great glory.

By what means shall the descent be made? No new Word is to be given. That which reaches from the beginning of the world to the millennium, and was fulfilled in the personal manifestation of the Divinity, is all we can need. But we are to be taught to understand this as angels understand it. How shall we be taught? Shall we imagine angels coming down upon earth to teach us? How shall we see and hear them? It cannot be done with the eyes and ears of the body. These cannot apprehend spirit. Nor is it conceivable that angels, like the Lord Himself, should be incarnated for the purpose. There is a far simpler way: though angels have not a material form, men have within their material form a spirit with its spiritual form and senses, so enwrapped as to be unseen and almost unknown. For man, then, to be taught by angels, nothing is necessary but that a separation should be made between his bodily senses and those of the spirit, and that the latter should be opened to their proper use. That this has been given many times of yore, we know from the Bible and from history. The question remains whether, for the descent of the Holy City, this favor should be granted to the many, or to but one in their behalf. It may be well, before forming an

opinion on this question, to read attentively the unfoldings of the Word made through Swedenborg, and to learn the wisdom necessary, and the Divine guidance, in order that the angelic meaning may reach us in its integrity. We may then conclude that, although in Swedenborg's case no inexplicable miracle was given, and the means used for his enlightenment were no other than might be used at any time for the enlightenment of others, it was, as he says, of Divine Providence, that he was specially prepared for the work and protected in its performance, in order that the foundations of the City might be deeply, securely laid, and that our introduction into it may be made sure. And let it not be forgotten that, according to Swedenborg, the right understanding of the Word, the presence in it of the Lord Himself, can be given by Him alone, by the light of His Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth. "No man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the Book;" but only "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David."

How slowly, step by step, Swedenborg came to a full comprehension of the conditions of the other world is evident in his manner of speaking of the forms of spirits. When he first saw one, he called him "a man." This, as we have seen, was in April, 1745. In December he writes,—

"Spirits do not perceive otherwise than that they are in human shape, thus in a body with skin, bones, and blood, when yet it was shown them that they cannot retain those things which are of no use. . . . When they hear this they perceive indeed that they have no use for them, but still that they retain the shape. . . . But what their proper form is, is indeed unknown; and yet from the least organs of the brain, where are the beginnings of the form of the body, it may be in some degree concluded that the forms are not dissimilar from those; and that still they can be restored into a likeness of the human form as often as they direct their mind to it by thoughts." (S. D. 355.)

The same idea of spirits, as not having the human form except by fantasy, or fiction of thought, appears frequently, together with a similar notion in regard to their surroundings, their garments, animals, etc. In October, 1748, he writes again,—

“I have spoken concerning the form which spirits have, because they do not know in what form they are other than the human, and said that the inmosts of the spirit aspire to a form like the human body, . . . but still that it is in a much more perfect form applicable and fitting to heavenly life. . . . But it is manifest that they are not bodies, because bodies are like the worm forms, and are indeed food for worms. . . . Wherefore forms of spirits are much more perfect, and that they are represented as human forms is for a cause concerning which above ; but what the forms of spirits are, for various causes it has not been given me to know.” (S. D. 3472.)

This idea of the form of the soul, as something which, though the cause of the form of the body, was distinct from it and superior, as that of the butterfly to that of the worm, was Swedenborg's old philosophic idea, as expressed in his treatise about the soul. At that time he had penetrated so far as to regard the outer coverings of the soul, and even the rational mind, as of inner material substance, which would be cast off, not at once, but gradually, after death. The soul would then be pure intelligence, without a body, of which it would have no need, yet having an ethereal form of its own, and capable of taking the human form upon itself on occasion. And now for three years and a half he had been in the habit of seeing spirits, sometimes every day, and had not yet learned what he afterwards constantly taught, that the bodies in which he saw them were real, substantial, human bodies, not indeed of material, but of spiritual substance, the inmost of the material. He had not yet got rid of his old idea of spirits as ghosts, either with no substantial form at all, or with a form of an unknown higher type. But though at

this time he was already well advanced in writing the *Arcana Cœlestia*, few traces of this imperfect apprehension of spirits are observable in that work. In one place, however, we find him saying,—

“The sound of the gnashing of teeth was heard [in the world of spirits] as manifestly as that of a man, which is strange, since they have not teeth.” (A. C. 820, compare 5387.)

And again in sundry places in the “Diary” and in the “Arcana”¹ he speaks of spirits and angels as having no need for food, except for their minds, and as having all the senses which men have except that of taste, inferring this exception, probably, from his preconceived idea; whereas later he writes,—

“They eat and drink there as in the natural world, but all the food is from a spiritual origin; wherefore it is not prepared, but is daily given. . . . Because the food is from a spiritual origin, and thus in itself spiritual, and because spirits and angels are men, and endowed with a spiritual body, therefore such spiritual nourishment serves them: a spiritual being is thus nourished spiritually, and a material man materially.” (S. D. 6088.) “Good spirits and angels have teeth equally as men.” (A. E. 556.) “They have similar taste and also smell.” (S. D. vii. sec. 2, n. 3½.)²

The same slowness to apprehend the realities of the other world shows itself in the early remark that “Place, change of place, and distance in the other life are fallacies.” (A.C. 1380.) Changes of place in the other world “are only apparent, and are nothing but changes of state, whilst the body remains in the same place.” (A. C. 1273.) While later he says,—

“Spirits and angels . . . are substantial men, and live together like men of the natural world, upon spaces and in times which are determined according to the states of their minds.” (T. C. R. 29.)

¹ See *Spiritual Diary*, 3567, 3998; *Arcana Cœlestia*, 1973.

² See also *The Apocalypse Explained*, 618; *Heaven and Hell*, 461.

It has been well suggested¹ that this want of realization of spiritual facts coincided with Swedenborg's intellectual presence in that world, with the senses of seeing and hearing therewith connected; while as to the voluntary part of his mind, with which are connected the realizing senses of taste and touch, he remained in this world. Later, and then only occasionally, it was permitted him to be almost wholly withdrawn from the body, when all spiritual things became real to him. Of this state he says, —

“The man is led into a certain state which is intermediate between sleep and waking, and when he is in this state he cannot know otherwise than that he is altogether awake; all his senses are as wakeful as in the fullest wakefulness of the body, as well sight as hearing, and, what is wonderful, the touch, which then is more exquisite than can ever be given in the wakefulness of the body. In this state also spirits and angels have been seen altogether to the life, also heard, and, what is wonderful, touched; and then almost nothing of the body intervened. It is this state of which it is said, ‘to be withdrawn from the body, and not to know whether one is in the body or out of the body.’ (2 Cor. xii. 2.) I have been let into this state only three or four times, that I might only know what it is, and at the same time that spirits and angels enjoy every sense, and also man when he is withdrawn from the body.” (H. & H. 440: in 1758.)

Another illustration of the gradual growth of Swedenborg's understanding of spiritual things is found in the manner of his speaking of evil spirits and of the hells. In the *Adversaria* he says little about the hells, but frequently refers to the Devil and his crew. So, too, in the early portion of the “Diary” we find the Devil spoken of as having been created into a state of perfection, and as having fallen thence and being now kept in chains and only his crew let out. (S. D. 202: Sept. 23, 1747.) A year later, however, Swedenborg refers to what

¹ *New Jerusalem Magazine*, July, 1881.

he had written of this kind as being so written in accordance with the belief of the whole Christian world (S. D. 3217); and perhaps this mention in n. 202 is the last of its kind.

But the period of the "Diary" is the decade previous to the Judgment; and the hells were open, their inmates in a measure unloosed. To Swedenborg's eyes "the angels or spirits of God Messiah were very few in comparison with those of a perverse disposition" (Adv. part iv. p. 211); and there were vast numbers of spirits who, infested with the evil, were either let down among them, as into their hells, or kept in what Swedenborg calls the lower earth, undergoing vastation for their purification from evils, in preparation for admission among the good. During these years Swedenborg visited them, heard their complaints, was permitted to comfort them, and saw troops of them set free and raised up, under the care of angels, among the good. At this time he was most deeply impressed with two things: first, the sinfulness of the human heart, on account of which, he still says in the old language, all men are condemned to eternal punishment (S. D. 2583); and, second, the infinite loving mercy of the Lord, which would save all. From this, and from what he sees going on, he insists stoutly, not only to himself but to the spirits of Jupiter (3489) and even to the angels of heaven (2826), that the Lord permits no punishment except as necessary means of reformation, and that there is no such thing as punishment to eternity.¹

There are many indications that at this time, though he knew some had remained in their hells for ten or even twenty centuries, Swedenborg was persuaded that all would eventually be stripped of their desire to do evil, and would, with what little life remained, be taken up among the good, to perform such uses as are performed by almost lifeless bone.² Not only in the "Diary," but likewise in the first volume of the

¹ *Spiritual Diary*, 1039, 1074, 3528 end.

² See *Spiritual Diary*, 286, 1377, 1497, 2709, 2793, 2803, 3041, 3910, 3912, 3913, 3944, 4038, 4111, 4328, 4329.

"Arcana," which was written in the same year, 1748, we find these indications. In n. 699 he speaks of comforting those in hell and the lower earth. From n. 827 to n. 831, and in n. 955, he describes the punishments of most abominable spirits, of several kinds, as lasting for hundreds of years, till they have little life left, or "conceive shame, terror, and horror for such practices" as they had been accustomed to. In entire harmony with this view is the common reading of n. 967 of the "Arcana": "When the wicked are punished, there are always angels present to regulate the punishment, and to alleviate the pains of the sufferers as much as may be; but they cannot remove them entirely, because such is the equilibrium of all things in another life, that evil punishes itself; and unless it were removed by punishments, the evil spirits must needs be kept in some hell to eternity, [as] otherwise they would infest the societies of the good, and do violence to the order appointed by the Lord, on which the safety of the universe depends."

This agrees with passages already cited from the "Diary," some of which are referred to in the author's Index, as follows: "Man is such that he has been condemned to hell to eternity; but of the mercy of the Lord, after punishments and vastations, he is taken out thence," n. 2583. "There was talk about hell, some thinking that those there will remain to eternity; but [it was shown] that, since there is no punishment except for an end, and the Lord, because Wisdom Itself, is the end, therefore nothing happens except for the end of good: also that man is condemned to hell, because he is nothing but evil; but the Lord liberates him," n. 2823 to 2827, and 2831, 2832.

With these various indications of Swedenborg's belief, in 1748, that all would eventually be brought out of hell, we know of nothing that distinctly indicates a contrary belief at that time. The references in the "Arcana" (311, 562, 581) to the wicked before the flood, as still shut away in a hell by themselves, are not decisive, since he plainly understands

many centuries to be necessary for reformation in some cases. But we soon have signs of a modification of belief. After a year's experience with an exceedingly treacherous class of spirits, whom he calls sirens, in the latter part of 1749 he speaks of them with no hope of their possible amendment. "The infernal ones, male and female, who receive nothing of amendment by punishments, are those who are borne towards hell. The most profane sirens, with the rest, were punished many times severely, so severely as can hardly be described for the various tortures, but yet they were afterwards the same, and then worse; such are they who are borne to hell and fall in thither when filled with evils." There, he goes on to say, they suffer punishment and fear it, being punished by their like; whereas in the world of spirits they had contrived to evade it. "But those who are punished in the world of spirits, and receive amendment, are they who become better." (S. D. 4511-13.)

About the same time he writes of the lot of the evil spirits that, after being suffered to practise their evil arts in the world of spirits for some years, "they concentrate their evils and become nothing but the evils of their kind, and what is good is then taken away from them, so that at length their wickedness is consummated," when they plunge into hell where are their like, and have no longing to rise into the world of spirits, for fear of punishment, but recede into their hells. There, after some centuries of mutual torment, their corporeal delights may become somewhat deadened, and they are then at times taken up into the world of spirits to serve for the vilest uses, with scanty life, and with scarcely any delight. "Such is the lot of the evil." (S. D. 4471.)

At length, a few years later, we have in the "Arcana" the emphatic statement, with reason given, that—"They endure evils continually more severe, and this until they dare not harm any one; and afterwards they remain in hell forever. They cannot be released, because the will to do good to any one cannot be given them; only to refrain from doing evil to

any one from fear of punishment can be given, the desire always remaining." (A. C. 7541.) From this statement in all his subsequent writings, Swedenborg never departs. That he came to it gradually seems certain. But the difference between it and the earlier view is not so great as might at first appear. The essential difference is, that, while from the first he perceived the necessity of long and dire punishment to subdue the evil desires of the very wicked, ending only with almost entire loss of vitality, he at first supposed that by superadded good they could eventually be brought into association with good spirits and become a part of the "Greatest Man"¹ (S. D. 3041) ; whereas, with further experience, he learned that the evil desires could never be entirely removed, but would remain the spirit of the little life left, and that they could have no part among the good.

Connected with this first uncertainty as to the final disposition of the wicked, and in part its ground, we find a want of clear distinction between the real inward state, or condition, of the good and the evil. Regarding man's nature as tending always to evil, from which he is withheld by the Lord alone ; and regarding the good desires of the angels as superadded to them from the Lord (S. D. 2803-5), on the withdrawal of which they would lapse into the condition of evil spirits,—it was easy to think that saving grace would be eventually extended to all, and all would be gathered into the one fold. Swedenborg does not seem at this time to have realized, so fully as afterwards, the change made in the mental constitution by a man's consenting acceptance of the Divine grace ; and the essential difference between the loving use performed by the good, and what might be performed under compulsion by the evil ; or indeed between really good uses performed by the good, and vile or necessary evil uses performed under permission by the evil. He saw rightly from the first that punishments were not for past offences and to

¹ This expression is used by Swedenborg for the whole heaven taken as a one ; which is organized, he says, in the order of the human form.

eternity, but only for present withholding from evil and while necessary : and that the end would be restraint from evil and the performance of use, even the meanest, to the rest of mankind. That among the vast multitudes in the world of spirits undergoing punishment by devils for the Divine purpose of their reformation, there were some, nay many, who would never suffer themselves to be reformed, would never give up their desire for evil, and who must therefore always remain in their hells, is what he seems not at first to have clearly apprehended.

In this hesitation, or reluctance, perhaps no one of Swedenborg's readers does not sympathize. We would all fain believe that no human creature can fail to be impressed in the end into his Lord's kingdom. But we must all recognize the freedom of choice given man as vital, absolute, and eternal. The manner of exercise of the choice is, then, simply a matter of fact and experience, in which Swedenborg is our tutor ; and our own desire or reason can hardly gainsay what he has told us. We cannot but fear that the tale is "ower true." We have, however, the consolation of inferring that in time the condition of the unfortunate ones ceases to be that of punishment and suffering ; that their life becomes comparatively harmless, by submission to restraint ; and that if its delight is reduced to almost nothing, it is all the world to them, and what, because it is their very self, they would not exchange for the lot of any other beings. Moreover, we have Swedenborg's assurance that even in their lowest condition they never cease to be an object of pity and care to angels and to the Lord Himself.

These instances of Swedenborg's gradual development of ideas and doctrine are not exceptional ; they are rather the rule, covering nearly the whole field of his spiritual instruction. In a note to n. 43 of his little treatise on the Worship and Love of God, after describing the instinctive knowledge and capacities into which brute animals are born, and con-

trusting therewith the ignorance and helplessness of infant men, he says,—

“It was altogether otherwise in our first-begotten, whose rational or intellectual mind was not to be instructed and perfected in a similar manner, or from the bodily senses, but from the soul itself, while the sensories of the body only administered and were subservient : for he was born into a state of the greatest integrity, and into perfections themselves.”

Again in a note to n. 52, after describing the synthetical and the analytical ways of learning, he says,—

“It appears that the intellectual mind of Adam, while all things were excited from their first auspices to last, was instructed by the synthetic way, from the soul first, and afterwards from its senses ; wherefore now he is said to have met his understanding, or the intelligences who were coming to him. The case is otherwise in his posterity, in whom the rational mind, which had altogether no existence in infancy, is first, as it were, to be constructed, or opened from the senses, before it can be instructed ; for it is perfected by age, through the benefit of experience, which is of the senses, and afterwards of the sciences, conceived and brought forth from the experience of the senses.”

And in another note to the same number,—

“That our first-begotten was able to know what is good, or goodnesses, from an internal sense, is sufficiently evident from the formation of his mind, and from causes which follow in their series ; for the minds of those who live in the love of the Supreme not only see, but also feel the affections of its goodnesses, and consequently have their understanding clearly enlightened by truths ; wherefore from a sense of goodness the knowledge of all truths flows ; . . . he who comprehends superior goodnesses by an inmost sense has no need to run over that spacious plain of investigation, or to make his way through masses of truths, because he is in the knowledge of goodness itself, or, as it were, at the goal, from whence he can widely view and freely contemplate the whole field.”

Three or four years later in the *Arcana Cœlestia*, n. 1902, Swedenborg wrote,—

“If man were imbued with no hereditary evil, then the rational would be born immediately from the marriage of the celestial things of the internal man with its spiritual things, and through the rational would be born the scientific, so that man would have with him all the rational and all the scientific immediately on coming into the world.”

Sixteen years after this was published in the “*Arcana*,” the following more guarded statement was printed in *The Divine Providence*, n. 275 :—

“The love into which man was created is the love of the neighbor. . . . This love is truly human ; for in it there is what is spiritual, by which it is distinguished from natural love, which brute animals have. If man were born into that love, he would not be born into the thick-darkness of ignorance, as every man now is ; but into some light of science, and thence of intelligence, into which he would also shortly come.”

And in his crowning work, *The True Christian Religion*, published seven years after *The Divine Providence*, Swedenborg gives at length a most interesting discussion on this subject, in an assembly in the other world, at which he was invited to be present. The topics of discussion were three : First, “What is the image of God, and what the likeness of God, into which man was created ?” Second, “Why is not man born into the science of any love, when yet beasts and birds, noble as well as ignoble, are born into the sciences of all their loves ?” The third, about the tree of life, does not immediately concern our present subject. The conclusion upon the first question was, in brief, that man becomes an image of God according as he receives from Him ; and that he becomes a likeness of God from sensibly perceiving in himself that those things which are from God are in him as his, and yet that so much of this likeness becomes an image as acknowledges that all in him is not really his but the

Lord's. And the conclusion on the second question was, in full,—“That man is born into no science, in order that he may be able to come into them all, and advance to intelligence, and through this to wisdom; and that man is born into no love, in order that he may be able to come into all, by applications of the sciences from intelligence, and into love to God through love towards the neighbor, and thus to be conjoined to God, and by that means to become a man, and to live to eternity.” (T. C. R. 48.)

The successive steps by which Swedenborg's mind advanced through reason and intelligence to wisdom are here beautifully shown. In the exercise of his reason he came to see the vast superiority of the down-look, from the high point of view given by sympathy with the Divine ends. His whole treatise on the Worship and Love of God is an overflow of joy in the reception and exercise of something of this faculty. To this is due its exuberant and sportive fancy. Nothing was more natural than to imagine that this gift, designed for man in his highest estate, was given to him at his first birth, when fresh from the hands of his Maker. A few years later, when learning in the history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob the development of the human mind, above all, of the Lord's own human mind, though he saw that even in this case the present order of development through the rational was followed, it was still clear to him that if man were born into love to the Lord and the neighbor, into that for which he was designed, he would find all rational and scientific knowledge at his feet. Later, in *The Divine Providence*, with possibly more doubt as to what had been the primal fact, he still sees that if man were born into this love he would come into the light of such knowledge, and the knowledge itself would soon open to him. Last of all, in his crowning work, at the same time that he teaches, not as before, that the Father acts through the Son, but that, as the body from the soul, the Son acts from the Father,—he learns that to be in the likeness of God is to see what one has from God as one's

own, thus to act as it were from one's self, at the same time that to be in the image of God is to acknowledge all one has, to be from Him. Coincidentally he learns that the way in which he himself has been led, through science to intelligence and through intelligence to wisdom, as also through love towards the neighbor into love to God,—the way which he had found described in the history of Isaac as that in which our Lord suffered His own humanity to be led,—is the way which He has designed for all from the beginning; the true and only way in which man can receive knowledge after knowledge, faculty after faculty, as his own, and yet learn to acknowledge them as from God alone,—in fact, come into both His image and His likeness.

Swedenborg's idea was right from the first, as to the power of vision which would be given with the acceptance of the Divine inflowing spirit; nor was he at all unmindful of the steps necessary for him, and for all others since Adam, to be led up to this state. What he did not seem to see till the last was, that it is of Divine order and necessity, in the very nature of man, for him to have his first conscious life in the neutral ground of ultimates, and to receive higher life and light, step by step, as he acquires power to recognize its source, at the same time that he feels it to be his own.

These various examples of the gradual growth of spiritual ideas in Swedenborg's mind we have adduced, partly for their individual interest, but specially to illustrate the fact that the revelation given through him is a rational revelation, never forced upon him, but opened to him step by step, as his mind was enabled to comprehend it rationally. This is of first importance to be understood, both that the revelation may be seen in its right place in history, as the revelation given to man's now developed reason, and that its claims upon us may be recognized as addressed always to our reason. Swedenborg himself, while eagerly confessing with joy that his doctrine is not his own, but from the Lord, often appeals to the reason of his readers, begging them to examine

for themselves and see whether the doctrine be not true. This is indeed the very essence of the new revelation,—the rational recognition of spiritual truth, by the aid of the Spirit of Truth, with acknowledgment of its Divine Source.

One day there appeared to Swedenborg a magnificent domed temple, with windows of crystal and gate of pearl; and over the gate was written *Nunc Licet*. On consideration he perceived that the temple represented a Church, and indeed the New Church that is to be, in which *Now it is allowable to enter intellectually into the mysteries of faith*.

The child accepts what he is taught in innocence and affection. The boy learns in obedience to his master. The youth reasons for himself, and asserts his own conclusions as the only standard of faith. The mature mind confesses its ignorance, humbles itself before the Divine Teacher, and gratefully accepts what He, with His Spirit, illumines before it as the truth, accordant with right reason and with heavenly love. The youthful stage of the Christian Church is passing by. The stage of ripe manhood is opening before us; but it is not entered without trial and temptation,—trial of the heart whether it will submit to be led by its Lord, and temptation of the intellect to throw off all allegiance, to assert its own supremacy, and to disbelieve all but its own independent vision. The trial and temptation endured, the gates open of themselves, and *Nunc Licet*.

CHAPTER X.

OPENING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

As in his apprehension of the mysteries of the other world, so in his comprehension of the arcana of the Word of God, we find Swedenborg's progress to have been slow and gradual, in orderly, rational development. As soon as he learned that this was the work designed for him, he left unfinished the essay on the Worship and Love of God, and began to study Hebrew and the Old Testament, using both the original and Schmidt's Latin version. In a few months he was writing notes in explanation of Genesis which he did not publish,¹ but which are of interest as showing the steps by which he arrived at the understanding of the interior sense which he afterwards published in his *Arcana Cœlestia*.

In the first notes, entitled "The History of the Creation Handed Down by Moses," the first chapter of Genesis is explained from beginning to end in only the sense of the letter, as referring simply to the creation of the material world. No other thought appears in Swedenborg's mind. In the second chapter he begins with referring to his little work on the Worship and Love of God, but says that all human speculations are unreliable, except so far as they coincide with revelation; and so he submits the statements in this little treatise to the test of what he is now learning in these first chapters of Genesis. He is surprised, pleasantly no doubt, with the agreement he finds. He then proceeds with his explication in the same way as in the first chapter, until,

¹ Published by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel, under the title of *Adversaria in Libros Veteris Testamenti*, 1842-54.

in the ninth verse, new light seems to break upon him. In the preceding verse he doubts whether Adam was born in the Garden of Eden, or created elsewhere and brought into it; but he wisely concludes "that belief one way or the other is not an article of salvation. And then, in unfolding the ninth verse, without preamble he declares it to be plain enough that the earthly paradise represented heavenly paradise, "for there is nothing given on earth to which there is not something corresponding in heaven." The way now opens before him, and he goes through this chapter and the next, finding spiritual significance in almost every verse, not inconsistent with what he afterwards published, though less clear and more hampered by the letter. At the end of the third chapter, however, he writes and underscores the words,—"*These things have been premised. But let us search the Scriptures chiefly with this intent, that we may investigate the kingdom of God, what it is to be, and the many things which pertain to it. The Scriptures not here and there but everywhere treat of the kingdom of God, for indeed this was the end of the creation of all things, as well of heaven as of earth.*" In pursuance of this intent he seems now to have filled thirty-two folio pages with Bible passages under the following heads:—
 "1. The Messiah about to come into the world. 2. The Messiah who is about to come a second time to restore the Jews. 3. The Kingdom of God. 4. Babylon." To these pages he gave the title, *The Messiah about to Come into the World; and the Kingdom of God.*¹

Then he goes back and starts again with the first chapter of Genesis, assured that it inwardly contains the plan of the redemption of man by the Lord, but unable to advance much beyond the interior literal sense in many of the particulars. Even when he comes to the Flood and the saving of Noah in the ark, though he is full of the recognition of the Lord's Divine providence for the human race, and for the establishment of His Divine kingdom, his ideas still remain fixed in

¹ Not printed in the *Adversaria*, but photo-lithographed by R. L. Tafel.

the letter ; he thinks only of a flood of waters and of a single family preserved in an ark of wood. The phrases of the old theology in which he had been trained are continually cropping out, as when he says that the posterity of Ham, because they took possession of the Holy Land, represented the Devil, who invaded heaven. This is still more remarkable in what he says of the Supreme Being. He refers constantly to the three persons of the Trinity, notwithstanding his having learned by spiritual experience that all prayer should be addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ. God, the Father, is still to him the impersonation of justice, while He effects all creation through His only-begotten Son, who is the *Logos*, or *Sermo*, the unwritten Word. And at times, as when the covenant is made with Noah, he labors to show that it was made by the three persons,—by Jehovah, the Father ; by God, the Son ; and by the Holy Spirit,—inasmuch as it is declared the third time.

We must, however, bear in mind that, by his own statement (T. C. R. 16), from his earliest years he could never admit into his mind the idea of more Gods than one, but always received and retained the idea of one God alone. Hence we must suppose that the tri-personal idea was with him but an external one, not much more than a form of speech, a distinction of office, not of character. In *The Worship and Love of God* he says that the Father begat the Son as a mediator, by whom man might approach Him,—a statement not far from the truth. In the *Adversaria* the justice of the Father is loving, not vindictive, justice, and the love with which the Son pleads for mercy for men is inspired by the Father, who longs to grant the mercy. Sometimes the justice itself is attributed to the Son, and it is important to observe that the Lord the Messiah was continually before him. He saw Him as the present means of the creation, as the predicted conqueror of the serpent, as represented in His death by Abel, as vainly imitated in the establishment of His Holy City by the Devil's attempt at Babel, and as the very

end in view in the selection and care of Abraham. In the following passage it will be seen how near he comes to what he afterwards saw and published in detail, that in Abraham's life throughout was represented the infancy and childhood of our Lord on earth:—

“In Abram, as in a mirror in which a type and image appear, are represented the effigies of things which are to come, both of this world and of heaven; but the Messiah and His kingdom are the very effigy itself,—the rest are only types which come in succession. Wherefore not even the least thing occurs in the life of this parent of the Israelites, Abram, which is not representative or typical of what is about to come, in the Jewish community first, then in those that are to follow, even to the last times when the thing itself in its own light and effigy will stand forth to view.” (Adv. 164.)

How present our Lord was to Swedenborg's mind appears further from his perceiving that it was “the Only-Begotten of God, the Messiah,” who was seen by Abram:—

“Therefore, because Abram saw, not the type, but the very effigy itself, that is, the King Himself, who should introduce his posterity and the nations into the promised land and into His kingdom, to Him he built an altar. He, because He is the image of His Father, is here as in the following passages called also Jehovah: *Therefore he built an altar there to Jehovah who appeared to him.* This is the day and the coming of the Messiah which Abram saw and was glad. Nay, Abram, when first the land was promised to him and his posterity by the Messiah King Himself, is led away to the place where the Messiah should be born, even to Bethlehem. . . . Touched and moved by the holiness of the place, the father of the Israelites fixed his abode there for a time, built an altar, called upon God, and thus celebrated His day and His coming.” (Adv. part i. 166, 167.)

And again, with appreciation of what the presence of the Lord required, he says of Abram, now named Abraham,—

“When, therefore, Abraham had seen his Messiah, and

indeed now in the human form, which He was about to put on, straightway he first offered Him that which signifies this human nature and its purification, namely, the washing of the feet; for the things which are outmost, or with which interior things are clothed, are those which relate to nature, and by which spiritual things are enclosed. Such things also circumcision involves. But the lowest part of all is the sole of the foot, which is washed for the sake of that representation; and thus with men that is purged away which adheres to nature, as was also afterwards instituted by the Messiah Himself. Abraham under the tree begged suppliantly that this might be done, for the sake of the memory of the tree of life upon which his posterity were to be engrafted: therefore said father Abraham, *Let a little water be accepted, I pray, and wash your feet, and rest under the tree.* (Adv. 199.)

A little later, amazed at the infinity of meaning which he begins to find hidden in the Word of God, he exclaims,—

“Believe me, O readers, for I speak the truth, that in every word, yea in every jot of an expression that comes forth from the mouth of Jehovah God, there are most hidden things, and so all-embracing as to contain in themselves in the present an infinite series from eternity to eternity, the things which are and the things which are to come, from the beginning of heaven and earth even to their end. For whatever Jehovah speaks by His Word and Holy Spirit, is He Himself therein; thus what is infinite, that is, infinite things which never come forth into the light before human minds. The things which are revealed are only a very few, and hardly a very few. Yet not even these lie open except when the Sun rises, that is, Jehovah God, who is the Sun of wisdom, and enlightens with some rays of His own light minds that dwell in densest shadow.”

This perception that every syllable of the Word of God contained the Divine fulness, was one of the keys given to Swedenborg for unlocking its mysteries. To this were added his discovery that everything in the Word presented something

of the great end in view from the beginning,—the judgment and salvation by the Lord of the human race; his long-cherished doctrine that every outward thing is the representative and correspondent of some inward thing; and his consciousness that while all good depends on love to the Lord and the neighbor, all evil depends on love to self and the world. It is interesting to mark the steps by which, with these guides, the meaning of the Word opened before him, illustrated continually by the information communicated to him by the spirits and angels with whom his studies brought him into company.

At the same time we realize with what peril the task would have been undertaken without the constant guidance of the Holy Spirit. Swedenborg himself became deeply sensible of this, and gives frequent warning of the danger of trusting to the suggestions of spirits. It may be questioned whether it would have been possible for him to be sufficiently on his guard, without such open vision as he had of the company about him. While the explanation of the Word that he was to learn and teach was the spiritual sense, in which it is understood in the other world, and while it was essential for his understanding of it that he should be in open communication with spirits and angels, it was no less important that he should be protected from the persuasion of any, and that he should receive the truth into his rational understanding under the sole guidance of the Spirit of Truth.

In this, as in everything else he learned and taught, he was the pioneer for us all. In the new age of the Church, while we are to enter rationally into the mysteries of faith and of Scripture, and while we are to realize the presence and influence of the Holy Spirit, we need to know what Swedenborg learned of the constant influence of spirits about us, of the danger of trusting to them, and of the necessity of looking to the Law and to the Testimony for guidance by the Spirit of Truth.

On this subject the Church has had little knowledge. Men

have recognized but two spirits,—that of the Lord and that of the Evil One. Too often inspiration with some apparent good purpose has been claimed to be from the Lord, when in fact there was within it vain-glory and fantasy. Swedenborg himself at first, as we have already seen, knew only of “the Spirit,” meaning the Holy Spirit, and the Tempter. He had to learn that between the two are infinite grades of angels and spirits, whose influence may partake of that of both at the same time. Even the angels, he says, were tempters of the Lord in His human nature, from the imperfection that clung to them. Spirits and angels innumerable he found pressing about him, as about all men, and ready to inspire his mind, if not his body, with their own peculiar thoughts and impulses. They would even impel and guide his pen, did he surrender the control to them.

Now shone forth to him the power and the goodness, the wisdom and the near presence, of the Lord his Saviour. Infinite control he saw to be in the Divine hands, by reason that all life and power, even that of the lowest devil, proceeded from the Divine Life and Power alone,—proceeded as a stream from its fountain, however defiled on its way; so that the instant the supply should be cut off, that instant angel, spirit, man, or devil would cease to be. The unerring wisdom by which all these contending forces are moderated and counterbalanced so as to be in equilibrium about every sane man, in order that his freedom may be preserved, his character and powers developed, and his salvation if possible effected, is study for angels to eternity. It is the Divine wisdom in its application to men revealed in the Word of God, incarnated in the Son of Man. The goodness, the love, and the mercy with which the Lord stands at the door of every man’s heart, seeking through the reason He has given him to enter and guide him in the way of His own salvation, was to Swedenborg beyond all expression.

From a multitude of passages in the *Adversaria* bearing on these points, let us select a few:—

"A crowd of many kinds and species of spirits I have been surrounded with by turns, as also of those who died many ages ago, in order that of the Divine mercy of God Messiah I might learn the nature of spirits and how they operate, and that God Messiah disposes and rules them all wholly according to His pleasure, which by the experience of so many months could not but become known to me" (iii. 135).

"Whatever is thought should be directed to God Messiah, because all things come from Him ; for nothing ever in the world comes before the senses, nothing in interior natural things before the natural mind, nothing in most interior things before the spiritual mind, which does not have respect to the kingdom of God Messiah, and so to God Messiah Himself" (v. 535). "No one ever becomes free until he becomes the servant of God Messiah ; for then he is ruled to the true and best end, and he is wise and is affected with love for the end" (v. 834).

"Influx is from the inmost into what is called the more interior, and from this into the interior class. He who is not in order has no perception of the things which are inmost, that is, we may say, of what are Divine ; but he who is held in order perceives the least assents and dissents in the affections and persuasions, whenever they are formed by evil angels, or by those who have evil in themselves : so that there is a certain dissent in inmosts, whatever persuasion is induced ; and this has happened to me so frequently that the times cannot be numbered. . . . This very day, when I was led by persuasions to believing about a certain matter that it was so, I yet perceived inmostly as it were that the spirit was a deceiver, who was to be shunned" (vi. 2056).

Speaking of the presence of the Lord on Mount Sinai, in the Tabernacle, and in the Temple, he says,—

"God Messiah is everywhere, but is in holy places with more and other power, of truth and love, than elsewhere. . . . Hence also in the prayer of the benediction it is prayed that He may look upon us, when yet He sees always, even the

least things in the universe. . . . This presence by the Divine mercy of God Messiah it has been granted me to perceive. . . . It is an inmost affection which can in no way be described, and if described with many words it could not be exhausted" (v. 1261-62).

Speaking of the peace of the benediction, he says,—

"In this peace there is nothing at all of quiescence, but very life. . . . Something of this peace has been given me by the Divine mercy of the Lord to experience, but I testify sacredly that no tongue can ever express it. For it is the complex of all happiness, with the highest life, freed from the life which is wont to spring up from desires, bodily pleasures, care and anxiety about things that are to come. It is to be in the bosom of God Messiah" (vii. 6924-25).

Such peace came to him after enduring spiritual temptations from evil spirits, by which he learned more and more fully that the sole deliverance from evil is the Lord:—

"As regards the temptations of the Devil, they are so wicked and horrible that they can in no way be described. His most crafty machinations are unspeakable, and beyond man's power to apprehend; for evil always puts on an appearance to mislead man. Hence unless man is guarded by God Messiah, he can in no wise escape, not even the least moment, from falling headlong into damnation. But the temptations, which are many, that I have learned by experience, are to be rather consigned to deep oblivion than published to men; for all minds [of themselves] must needs fall. By this experience I have learned this,—that unless God Messiah had liberated me from these extreme temptations, which in my belief I could by no means sustain, I should have fallen into utter damnation. To the liberation my own powers could not contribute in the least; they would have plunged me into damnation, unless God Messiah with His own aid had been present with me" (vii. 7529).

"With regard to myself, as has been given me to perceive clearly, I could not but succumb to all [such temptations];

for when brought to a certain point, as for myself I succumbed ; but yet was raised up by God Messiah. The temptations, I think, have been brought to me for a good end, so that I might clearly perceive that man can in no wise sustain temptations, not even the least of them, from himself. Wherefore it is the work of God Messiah alone that man is sustained in temptations" (v. 7509).

It is of importance to know in what way Swedenborg now received his instruction as to the Divine things he was learning and beginning to teach. In regard to the nature of things in the other world, he was continually gaining information from, as he says, "things heard and seen." But, he also says emphatically, "they who speak from permission of the Lord, never speak anything which takes away freedom of reason, nor teach ; for the Lord alone teaches man, but mediately through the Word in illustration. . . . I have had speech with spirits and with angels now for many years, neither has any spirit dared, nor any angel wished, to tell me anything, still less to instruct me concerning anything in the Word, or concerning any doctrine from the Word ; but the Lord alone has taught me,—who was revealed to me, and afterwards continually appeared and now appears before my eyes as a sun in which He is, as He appears to the angels,—and has enlightened me" (D. P. 135). Again, in his last complete work, *The True Christian Religion*, he attests that he has never received anything relating to the doctrines of the New Church from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while he was reading the Word (n. 779). This, indeed, he expressly and elaborately shows to be the way, and the only way, in which man is at this day taught Divine things :—

"Illustration is as follows : Light conjoined to heat flows in through heaven from the Lord. This heat, which is Divine love, affects the will, whence man has the affection of good ; and this light, which is Divine wisdom, affects the understanding, whence man has the thought of truth. From

these two fountains, which are the will and understanding, all things of the love and all things of man's science are affected, but only those things are excited and presented to view which relate to the subject. Thus illustration is effected by the Word from the Lord, in which Word everything derived from the spiritual within communicates with heaven, and the Lord flows in through heaven, and into that which is at the time under man's view. . . . To be illustrated through heaven from the Lord is to be illustrated by the Holy Spirit, for the Holy Spirit is the Divine proceeding from the Lord as a sun, from which heaven is." (A. E. 177.)

"All such [who love truths and will them from the Lord] are illustrated, or enlightened, when they read the Word ; for the Lord is in the Word, and speaks with every one according to his comprehension : if these hear speech from spirits, which also they do occasionally, they are not taught but are led, and this so providentially that the man is still left to himself, since, as was before said, every man is led of the Lord by affections, and thinks from them as from himself, in freedom. If this were not the case, man would not be capable of reformation, neither could he be enlightened. But men are enlightened variously, every one according to the quality of his affection and consequent intelligence : those who are in the spiritual affection of truth are elevated into the light of heaven, so as to perceive the illustration, or enlightenment. It has been given me to see it, and from it to perceive distinctly what comes from the Lord, and what from the angels ; what comes from the Lord is written [by me], and what comes from the angels is not written." (A. E. 1183.)

The conclusion of this paragraph, though not precisely to our present purpose, is so clear and concise a statement of the author's mission, that we do not like to omit it :—

"Moreover it has been given me to discourse with the angels as man with man, and likewise to see the things which are in the heavens and which are in the hells. The reason was because the end of the present Church is approaching,



and the beginning of a new one is at hand, which will be the New Jerusalem, to which it is to be revealed that the Lord rules the universe, both heaven and the world ; that there is a heaven and a hell, and what is the quality of each ; that men live also as men after death,—in heaven those who have been led of the Lord, in hell those who have been led of themselves ; that the Word is the Divine itself of the Lord in the earth ; also that the last judgment is passed, — lest man should expect it in this world to eternity ; besides many other things which are effects of the light now arising after darkness.”

The nature of the spiritual affection for truth, to which the enlightenment described is granted, is more fully set forth in these words : —

“They who read the Word from a spiritual affection of truth, which is the love of knowing truth because it is truth, see the truths of the Word and rejoice in heart when they see them. The reason is because they are enlightened from the Lord. This illumination descends from the Lord through heaven from the light there, which light is Divine truth ; to them therefore it is given to see truths from their own light, and this in the Word, because the Word is Divine truth, and in it are treasured up all the truths of heaven. But they alone are in this light who are in the two loves of heaven, which are love to the Lord and love towards the neighbor ; for these loves open the interior or superior mind, which is formed to receive the light of heaven, and through which that light flows in and enlightens them.” (A. E. 177.)

Since the enlightenment or illumination here described is not only the very grace enjoyed by Swedenborg, but also that by which all spiritual discernment of truth is given, and in effect the very coming of the Lord promised to the disciples, as the Spirit of Truth, we will copy some further illustrations of its nature and quality, as set forth in the explications of the “Arcana” : —

“By—*And I have filled him with the spirit of God—*

(Ex. xxxi. 3) is signified influx and illustration from Divine truth. . . . Influx and illustration are effected in this manner : man is such that as to his interiors, which are of the thought and will, he can look downwards and can look upwards ; to look downwards is to look outwards into the world and to himself, and to look upwards is to look inwards to heaven and to God. Man looks outwards from himself, which is called looking downwards, since when he looks from himself he looks to hell ; but man looks inwards not from himself but from the Lord, which is called upwards, because he is then elevated as to his interiors, which are of the will and understanding, by the Lord to heaven, thus to the Lord : the interiors also are actually elevated, and then are actually withdrawn from the body and from the world. When this is effected, the interiors of man really come into heaven, and into its light and heat : hence he has influx and illustration ; the light of heaven illuminates the understanding, for that light is Divine truth, which proceeds from the Lord as a sun ; and the heat of heaven enkindles the will, for that heat is the good of love which proceeds together with the light from the Lord as a sun. Since man is then among the angels, there is communicated to him from them, that is, through them from the Lord, the intelligence of truth and the affection of good. This communication is what is called influx and illustration. But it is to be known that influx and illustration are effected according to the faculty of reception with man, and the faculty of reception is according to the love of truth and of good. Wherefore they who are in the love of truth and of good for the sake of truth and good as ends, are elevated ; but they who are not in the love of truth and of good for the sake of truth and good, but for the sake of self and the world, inasmuch as they continually look and gravitate downwards, cannot be elevated, thus cannot receive Divine influx out of heaven, and be illustrated." (A. C. 10,330.)

"From the Lord proceeds Divine truth immediately and mediately : that which proceeds immediately is above all

understanding of the angels ; but that which proceeds mediately is adapted to the angels in heaven and also to men, for it passes through heaven and puts on thence an angelic and human quality. But into this truth the Lord flows also immediately, and thus leads angels and men as well immediately as mediately. . . . That there is immediate influx of the Lord where there is also mediate,—thus in the last of order as well as in its first,—has been told me from heaven, and a living perception of the thing has been given, as also that what takes place through heaven and the angels there is very little in comparison.” (A. C. 7004.) “The Lord teaches every one by means of the Word, and grounds His teaching on the knowledges which man is in possession of, never infusing new ones immediately.” (S. S. 26.)

“Truth proceeding mediately from the Divine may be given with man, and yet this not be conjoined with truth which proceeds immediately from the Divine. . . . For example, the Prophets, through whom the Word was written, wrote as the spirit dictated from the Lord ; for the very words which they wrote were pronounced in their ears. With them was truth mediately proceeding from the Divine, that is, through heaven, but not therefore truth which proceeded immediately from the Divine ; for they did not have perception as to what everything signified in the internal sense. When these are conjoined, then, as has been said, perception is given. This conjunction is rarely given with men, but it is given with all who are in heaven, especially with those who are in the inmost or third heaven. It is not given with man unless he has been so far regenerated that he can be elevated from his sensual even towards his rational mind, and thus be set in the light of heaven where the angels are. With every man, indeed, there is Divine influx, as well immediate as mediate, but there is not conjunction except with those who have perception of truth from good ; for those with whom Divine immediate influx is conjoined with mediate suffer themselves to be led by the Lord, but those with whom these

influxes are not conjoined lead themselves,—and this they love.” (A. C. 7055.)

“Conjunction of truth immediately proceeding from the Divine with truth which proceeds mediately cannot be given except in good, for good is the very ground. Truths are seeds which grow only in good as their ground. Good is also the very soul of truth; from good, truth exists as truth and lives. Truth which proceeds immediately from the Divine is called truth, but is in itself good, because it proceeds from the Divine good, and it is good to which all truth Divine is united. It is called truth, because in heaven it appears as light, but it is a sort of vernal light to which is united heat vivifying all things of the earth. From these things it may be evident also that the conjunction of truth proceeding immediately from the Lord with truth which proceeds mediately, cannot be given except in good, consequently except man be affected by truth for the sake of truth, especially for the sake of good, thus for the sake of life; for then man is in good. . . . Truth proceeding immediately from the Divine enters into the will of man, this is its way; but truth which proceeds mediately from the Divine enters into the understanding of man. Wherefore, conjunction cannot be effected unless the will and understanding act as one; that is, unless the will wills good and the understanding confirms it by truth. When there is thus conjunction, the Lord appears as present, and His presence is also perceived. But when there is not conjunction, then the Lord is as if absent; but His absence is not perceived, if it is not known from some perception what His presence is.” (A. C. 7056.)

“With regard to instruction in the particulars of doctrine, this is given when truth immediately proceeding from the Divine of the Lord is conjoined with truth which proceeds mediately, for then perception is given. This conjunction is given especially with the angels who are in the inmost or third heaven, and are called celestial. These have an exquisite perception of truth of each kind, and thence of the presence

of the Lord, because they are pre-eminently in good, for they have the good of innocence. Therefore they are nearest to the Lord, and in shining and as it were flamy light, for they see the Lord as a sun, the rays of whose light are such from nearness." (A. C. 7058.)

The light of the Spirit of Truth, guiding into all truth, is a gift that the Lord stands at every one's door desiring to give ; and it is given freely to every one in the measure in which, by closing the outer door against natural evil impulses, he suffers his Lord to open the inner door and to enter. That to Swedenborg was given such an extraordinary measure of resistance to what was from self and the devil, of openness to the Lord Jesus Christ, of love and desire to serve Him, and of consequent enlightenment, was due, as he himself does not fail to tell us, to no merit of his own,—however worthy he may seem in our eyes,—but solely to the fact that the Lord desired to open thus His Word to men, and to this end graciously led and prepared him.

The preparation and enlightenment were gradual and progressive. At times he saw clearly the interior meanings of the words he was meditating upon, with a certainty that he saw from the light given by the Spirit of Truth. Then he would write, "These things are true and given from the Lord." At other times he would write, "These things are now very obscure to me" (Adv. 7647) : "When the time comes to publish, it will be seen whether these things are to be printed" (943). Sometimes angels would flow into his mind so strongly with their affection and understanding of the subject he was studying, that he could not change the direction they gave his thoughts, or even keep his hand from writing what they inspired (3764, 4605). Nothing however that was written in this way, or from the dictation occasionally given (7167), was permitted to be published, unless, while coming mediately through others, it was perceived to come also immediately from the Lord (v. iii. 181). Without

this seal, *obliterandum erat*. Destroyed also must have been whatever he may by habit have written from himself, without the well-known seal of the light of truth from the Lord; for he says that as often as he wished to consult his intellect in heavenly things, he seemed to himself to be falling backwards, and would have fallen utterly if he had not been restored by the Divine mercy of the Lord (1282). What can be stronger than this declaration?—

“No word which I bring forth and write is my own, as I can sacredly attest: wherefore if any one should attribute to me one jot of the things written, which are truths, whether he be on earth or in heaven, he would do such wrong to God Messiah Himself that by no one except God Messiah Himself could it be condoned” (1654).

“Whenever there was any representation, vision, or speech, I was held interiorly and inmosty in reflection on the things presented, what there was useful and good to be learned from them. This reflection was not so awaited by those who presented the representations and visions, or who were speaking with me; and sometimes they were indignant when they perceived that I was reflecting. So it came to pass that I was instructed by no spirit nor angel, but by the Lord alone, from whom is all that is true and good. . . . And, besides, when they wished to persuade me, I perceived an interior or inmost persuasion that the matter was thus and so, not as they wished to persuade. This astonished them. The perception was manifest, but cannot be easily described so as to be understood by men.” (S. D. 1647.)

This last passage from the *Spiritual Diary*, soon to be described, deserves careful study. It contains the explanation of Swedenborg's frequent statements that what he taught was from the Lord alone. He never means that words were spoken in his ear, or put in his mouth or pen by the Lord. He means always, as here, that in whatever was presented to his eye or ear or thought, by man or spirit or angel, by his own intellect, by the words of Holy Writ, the Lord Himself,—

by His own immediate influx into the reason which He gives and preserves with man,—illumined with convincing light the things that were from Him. In further illustration he says,—

“Every man who is in the spiritual affection of truth, that is, who loves the truth itself because it is truth, is enlightened by the Lord when he reads the Word; but not the man who reads it from natural affection alone, which is called the desire of knowing. The latter does not see anything else than what accords with his love, or with the principles which he has either gathered himself or has imbibed from others by hearing or reading. It shall, therefore, be told in a few words whence and to what man enlightenment comes through the Word. That man has enlightenment who shuns evils because they are sins, and because they are against the Lord and against His Divine laws. With him, and not with another, the spiritual mind is opened; and so far as this is opened, so far the light of heaven enters, and from the light of heaven is all enlightenment in the Word. For, such a man has a will of what is good, and this will, when it is determined to that use, becomes in the understanding first the affection of truth, then the perception of truth, and soon by means of rational light the thought of truth,—thus decision and conclusion, which passes thence at once into the memory and into the life and thus remains. This is the way of all enlightenment in the Word, and also the way of reformation and regeneration of man. But it is necessary that there should first be in his memory knowledges of spiritual as well as natural things, for these are stores [*penuaria*] into which the Lord operates by means of the light of heaven; and the more full these are, and free from confirmed falsities, the more enlightened is the perception given, and the more certain the conclusion; for into a void and empty man the Divine operation does not fall.” (S. D. part vii. 2, 12.)

“It is believed that man might better be enlightened

and become wise if he should have immediate revelation by speech with spirits and angels ; but the contrary is true. Enlightenment by means of the Word takes place by an interior way, but enlightenment by means of immediate revelation takes place by an exterior way. The interior way is through the will into the understanding ; the exterior way is through the hearing into the understanding. Man is enlightened by the Lord by means of the Word, so far as the will is in good ; but man may be instructed and as it were enlightened, although the will is in evil. And what enters the understanding with a man whose will is in evil is not within but without him, is only in the memory and not in the life ; and what is without a man and not in his life, this gradually disappears, if not before, yet after death ; for the will which is in evil either casts it out, or suffocates it, or falsifies and profanes it ; for the will makes the life of man, and continually acts into the understanding, and that which is from the memory in the understanding, it regards as extraneous : the understanding, on the other hand, does not act into the will, but only teaches how the will should act. Wherefore, though man should have learned from heaven all things which even the angels know, or though he should have learned all things which are in the Word, and in all the teachings of the Church, what the Fathers have written and the Councils have decreed, and yet his will be in evil, he would after death be regarded as one who knows nothing ; for since he does not will what he knows, and since evil hates truth, the man himself then ejects such things, and in place of them adopts falses agreeing with the evil of his will. Moreover, there is not given to any spirit nor to any angel permission to instruct any man on this earth in Divine truths, but the Lord Himself teaches every one by means of the Word ; and He teaches him just so far as man receives good from Him in the will, and this good is received just so far as he shuns evils as sins. Every man also is in the society of spirits, as to his affections and thoughts thence, in which he is as one with them. Wherefore

spirits speaking with man, speak from his affections and according to them. Man cannot speak with others unless first the societies in which he habitually is, are removed, which does not take place except by the reformation of his will. . . . From these things it is evident that the mediate revelation which takes place through the Word is much better than the immediate revelation which takes place through spirits." (S. D. vii. 2, 13.)

"Representations" were referred to in a previous quotation. Swedenborg has much to say of them, as forming an important means of instruction in the other life. He speaks of them as being produced by spirits and angels in such number and variety and living power that we could have no conception of what he means, were it not for our dreams. In these we often have such representations induced by spirits. Rarely, they may have real and true significance, could we but perceive it; and then what can be learned by means of them is more than words can tell. Let us quote for an example what Swedenborg says of a representation he saw given by angels in teaching children about the Lord's life on earth: —

"Children together with those in innocence were softly representing the Messiah put into the sepulchre, yet by no means presenting the Messiah directly, but another; so that it might be known as from afar that the Messiah was signified, as also that after the resurrection He descended to the bound in the pit, and loosed those who were there captive and took them up into heaven with Himself, and that He was joined to His own Divine Essence. . . . When they were representing the descent to those beneath, they represented most beautifully very soft little cords, with which they wished to raise up God Messiah from thence, and by which they wished also to represent the longings of love, given them by God Messiah, to do this." (S. D. 233-35.)

Of the various ways in which Swedenborg perceived the things of the other world, we find frequent mention: —

"There are four kinds of sight which have been shown me :

the first is the sight of sleep, as clear as that of day, so that in the sleep I should have said that if this was sleep, wakefulness too must be sleep. The second kind is vision with the eyes closed, which is as clear as with the eyes open, and like objects, even more beautiful and delightful, are presented to be seen. Similar sight may occur with the eyes open, and two or three times has occurred to me. The third kind is in the condition of eyes open, when those things which are in heaven are represented, spirits and other things. This is representative vision, and has become very familiar to me, but is more obscure. It differs entirely from the common imagination of men. A fourth kind is while man is separated from the body and is in the spirit, and then he can in no way know otherwise than that he is awake; for he enjoys all the senses, such as touch, hearing, and sight, and I doubt not about the rest. The sight surpasses that of wakefulness, because it is exquisite. . . . As to this fourth kind, it has been granted me four or five times, and indeed with much pleasantness." (S. D. 651-53.)

This was written about three years after the commencement of his visions, and is in accordance with what we have already seen, that the full opening of his spiritual senses, with abstraction from the body, was effected very gradually. It would appear that, in these earlier years, what he saw of the other world came to him almost exclusively either in sleep, or by representations when awake and his eyes open, the latter vision being more obscure. Not more than four or five times in the three years had he been in full communication with the other world.

The *Adversaria* came to a close in February, 1747, the notes of explication having been continued through Jeremiah, but with less fulness in the Prophets than in the Books of Moses. Little was written later than the previous November, for our author was now at work on an index of Biblical subjects, for his own use, and was also writing copious marginal notes in his Bible. About the time of the close of the

Adversaria, in 1747, he begins what is known as his *Spiritual Diary*, in which he now records at greater length such spiritual experiences as he had previously made note of in the *Adversaria*. The "Diary" begins with the end of the Biblical Index, the first half year being lost and known only by the author's index, and is continued more than ten years. As published in the original Latin by Dr. Tafel, it makes nine octavo volumes, with rather more pages than the *Adversaria*. These pages are full of interesting experience and information, from which we have already begun to draw. Though Swedenborg did not publish the "Diary" by itself, he drew from it many illustrative passages for the works that he felt himself commissioned to publish, in the unfolding of the Scriptures and their doctrine. Though not designed for publication, it none the less contains many items that help us to understand the more important works, and enable us to trace more intelligently Swedenborg's progress and preparation for his mission, on which we do not yet find him fairly entered. He was feeling his way. His eyes had been touched, but he did not yet see all clearly. We might almost say, he saw men—spirits—as trees walking. He was going through temptations, for more interior purification. He was learning to live only from the Lord in love for His Holy will. He felt the angels of the Lord about him, and was instructed by them by representations; but he was not as yet one with them,—to see as they saw, and to share their perfect protection in their Lord's love. What he had written was in the line of preparation; but it had not yet the clearness that was needed, and that could come only from a higher point of view,—that of the angels who see the Lord's ends from love for them, and from the ends comprehend the means. This was to come.

A marginal note in Swedenborg's Biblical Index, under date of Aug. 7, 1747, indicates that at that time he was first introduced, by change of state, into the "celestial kingdom." To understand this, we want the help of what he tells us later,

that the whole heavens are twofold, celestial and spiritual, or delighting on the one hand in love to the Lord, and on the other in wisdom from Him and in love to the neighbor ; and further, that these two regions of the mind are distinct, and that the one may be opened and determine the state of the man, without the other. Swedenborg as a philosopher could not but be associated first with angels of the spiritual kingdom ; but in order to understand the state of those who are in the celestial kingdom and the sense of the Scriptures from which they draw their life, it was necessary for him to be introduced also into this,—that is, to have this region of his mind opened in some degree.

About this time he speaks in his "Diary" of three classes of angels :—

"Angels of the first class, to be called celestial, who are ruled immediately by God Messiah through love, and who have an elevated understanding of good and thence of truth ; angels of the second class, to be called truly spiritual, who are ruled by God Messiah mediately through the celestial angels ; angels of the third class, to be called affections or goodnesses, who are ruled through both the celestial and the spiritual angels, thus mediately by God Messiah, for they have not such intelligence and wisdom that they can be immediately acted on by Him. The rest are called spirits, and are of endless variety. Angels ascend according to their perfection, and hence are to be called superior and inferior ; or they advance inwardly, and hence are to be called interior, more interior, and inmost. These are signified by Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham ; also by Egypt, Assyria, and Israel, in Isaiah." (S. D. 156.)

Up to this time, then, we understand that the angels from whom Swedenborg had received assistance were of the spiritual class, who are ruled, not immediately, but mediately by the Lord, and who, as he says elsewhere, are affected not so much by His love and His ends as by His wisdom and His means. In June or July previous he began a new explication

of Genesis, in his marginal notes, premising that for several years he had been instructed through spirits and angels about the other world and the doctrine of true faith, and "respecting the interior and more interior [or spiritual] senses of both the Old and the New Testaments, which constitute their spirit and life." Thus he did not allude to the inmost or celestial sense; and in the explication of creation as regeneration, he fell far short of what he was soon to know and teach.

The superior intelligence into which he was now admitted, by association with celestial angels, is reason enough why he should again lay aside the explications he had been developing, from a lower point of view, and for the fourth and last time begin at Genesis, under the light now given so much more fully and nearly from the Lord Himself. The need of this new beginning is very apparent from this fact alone, that he now sees the work of creation to describe in particular the process of regeneration with the most ancient people, who had no inherited evil to be regenerated from, but only the infirmities inherent in human nature. This people regenerated became of the celestial type on earth, and celestial angels in heaven. It was impossible for any one to understand them, or the regeneration and other events signified by what is described in these early chapters, without having his mind opened inwardly and upwardly till he could come into association with them, and feel and think with them. Notably is this true again with what is described under the representation of Abraham, the celestial state of man, and the celestial human or childhood's state of the Lord's own humanity.

We do not, however, understand that when Swedenborg was introduced into the celestial kingdom he came into the inmost, most ancient heaven. Besides the general division, as of right and left, into two kingdoms, he tells us that the inmost heaven is celestial, the middle heaven spiritual, and the lower or outer heaven both celestial and spiritual-natural.

It is into association with this celestial-natural heaven that we understand Swedenborg to have come, for more or less permanence, and to have gained intercourse thereby with the inmost or truly celestial heaven only rarely, for special purpose. Some months after the date noticed he says, "During a considerable time, even for some weeks, celestial spirits abode with me" (S. D. 1105); and a little later he speaks of the influx from the more interior heaven as being in its inward joy and peace more than he could bear, and he wonders whether the angels of the inmost heaven are holy and their influence the Holy Spirit. Answer came from them through intermediates that they were not holy, but that the Lord alone is Holy; and when he inquired in thought whether any born on earth at this day can be admitted into that heaven, answer seemed to come that they cannot, but only those who lived on this earth in the Most Ancient Church, and now some from other earths.¹ (S. D. 1198, 1200.)

This appears to be his first acquaintance with this inmost heaven of innocence, but he is permitted to learn more for the sake of unfolding what belongs to it in the Word:—

"The sons of the [Most] Ancient Church spoke with angels during their life on earth, and had continual association with them, because to them in external things internal corresponding things were represented." (S. D. 185, Aug. 28, 1747.)

"Very many things occur in the Word of God Messiah, both of the Old and of the New Testament, which cannot but appear unintelligible, for the reason that the human race of this day is entirely changed from the men who lived in the Most Ancient Church and those who lived afterwards in the Ancient. If those men had lived to the present time,

¹ A year or two later, in the second volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, n. 1531, he says,— "That I might be confirmed in this, that the Lord appears to the celestial angels as a sun, and to the spiritual angels as a moon, by the Divine mercy of the Lord my interior vision was so far opened, and I plainly saw the moon shining; . . . but it was not given me to see the sun."

these things could be known from their experience and revelation ; but now they may be better known from the state of their spirits or souls in heaven " (Sept. 15, 1747).

"As before said, the inhabitants [of Jupiter] speak with their spirits, just as also did the sons of the Most Ancient Church,—which may be evident from the history of the creation, with both good and evil ; for in the Most Ancient Church there was not so much of speech and memory as now, but more of imagination and thought " (Jan. 26, 1748).

It may at first surprise us that Swedenborg's acquaintance in the other world should have extended to the spirits of other earths ; but we cease to wonder when we learn of him that all souls arrange themselves in the other life according to their affinities, and that these are determined by their thought and feeling in regard to the Lord. When, therefore, Swedenborg came himself into a state which could appreciate that of the men of the Most Ancient Church, it was not difficult for him to come into communication with the spirits from Jupiter, whose state, as we see, is of a kindred nature. The way was thus opened, but the main purpose was that he might learn from themselves that they as well as we depend on the One Lord, Jesus Christ :—

"They say that they worship the only Lord of heaven, whom they do not name, but they know that the only Lord rules all. Him therefore they seek after death and find, who is Jesus Christ. Being asked whether they knew that the only Lord is Man, they replied that they all know that He is Man, for He has been seen by many as Man, and He instructs them concerning the truth, preserves them, and gives to those who believe in Him to have eternal life " (Jan 24, 1748.)

"There were some spirits from that earth when I was reading the seventeenth chapter of John, who heard it and wondered that the only Lord had become Man and had been on the earth as another man ; but yet they said that all the things were Divine " (Jan. 26, 1748).

Here we see the use of this communication to the spirits of Jupiter, that they were enabled to listen to the Gospel and to learn how their only Lord, whom they knew to be Man, had come into the world and been born and suffered death on the cross in order to save the human race. And to Swedenborg the use of the communication, as would appear from his language, was most important. Two years previously, in his first theological writings, his usual term for our Lord was the Only-Begotten Son. In a short time, finding everything in the Word and in the other world to depend on Him, he adopted the expression "God Messiah," and used it constantly up to the time of this meeting with the spirits of Jupiter, with occasional reference to God the Father. Now, hearing them talk of the only Lord, and perceiving that his God Messiah was recognized as this only Lord of the universe, whether in consequence or as a coincidence, he drops the expression and henceforth speaks only of the LORD.

In this connection the following, of a later date, Sept. 23, 1748, is of particular interest:—

"When I was writing about the spirits of Mercury, that knowledge was promised them and that an image of the sun was shown them, and they said that it was not the Lord because they did not see a face; and when spirits were speaking about this, but what they were saying I do not know,—then appeared the Lord as the sun, the Lord in the midst surrounded with as it were a solar band. The spirits of Mercury, profoundly humbled, then subsided, and acknowledged Him in the anxiety of their humiliation. Presently He was seen by the spirits of this earth, as in the world, and by those who saw Him in the world. One after another they confessed, till there were many, that He is the Lord who was in the world, and this in the presence of the whole company. Afterwards He was seen also by the spirits of the inhabitants of Jupiter, who also declared aloud that He was the One whom they had seen, for on that earth occasionally He presents Himself to view."

On the 30th of January, 1748, Swedenborg notes,—

“When I was in bed, before I fell asleep, I heard a general singing of heaven about me, which was of many angels of the interior heaven. . . . It was said to me that the whole heavens thus continually give glory to the Lord and thus glorify Him. That such glorification is continual I was able to conclude also from this, that whenever I breathed with a certain silent cadence, I was following those who were singing in like measure, as in great choirs: from this I could know that the glorifying is perpetual.”

To this is added that he was in the sphere of this glorification for half a day or more, and that when his thoughts descended from it into some worldly thought, he seemed to the angels to fall away from them, or to be lost in a cloud. What became of his former notions in regard to the Trinity we find told in *The True Christian Religion*:—

“Awaking on a time from sleep, I fell into profound meditation about God; and when I raised my eyes, I saw above me in heaven a brilliant white light in an oval form. As I gazed intently within it, the light receded towards the sides and passed into the circumference. And lo! heaven was then opened to me, and I saw magnificent things, and angels standing in the form of a circle on the southern side of the opening. They were conversing together; and because I was seized with a desire of hearing what they said, it was given me to hear first the sound of their speech, which was full of heavenly love, and then the speech itself, which was full of wisdom from that love. They were conversing about the One God, and about conjunction with Him and salvation thereby. They spoke things ineffable, which for the most part cannot fall into the words of any natural language. But as I had sometimes been in company with angels in that heaven, and then in similar speech, because in similar state, I could now understand them, and from their conversation catch some things which may be rationally expressed in the words of natural speech.

"They said that the Divine Esse is One, the Same, the Itself, and Indivisible. This they illustrated by spiritual ideas, saying that the Divine Esse cannot fall into several, to each of which is the Divine Esse, and yet the Esse be One, the Same, the Itself, and Indivisible; for should each one think from his own Esse from himself, and singly by himself, and at the same time also from the others and by the others, unanimously, there would be several unanimous Gods, and not One God. For unanimity, since it is consent of several and at the same time of each from himself and by himself, does not consist with the unity of God, but with plurality,—they did not say, of Gods, because they could not: the light of heaven, from which was their thought, and the aura in which their speech went forth, resisted. They said, too, that when they wished to utter Gods, and each one as a person by Himself, the effort of utterance fell immediately into One, nay, into the Only God. And they added that the Divine Esse is the Divine Esse in itself, not from itself; because from itself supposes the Esse in itself from another prior,—thus supposes God to be from a God, which is not possible. What is from God is not called God, but is called Divine. For what is 'God from God,' and so what is 'God born from God from eternity,' what is 'God proceeding from God through God born from eternity,' but mere words in which is nothing of light from heaven?

"They said further that the Divine Esse, which in itself is God, is the Same; not the same simple, but infinite,—that is, the same from eternity to eternity. It is the same everywhere, the same with every one and in every one, all variation and change being in the recipient, caused by his state. That the Divine Esse, which is in itself God, is the Itself, they illustrated in this way: God is the Itself because He is love itself and wisdom itself, or because He is good itself and truth itself, and thence life itself. Unless these were the Itself in God, they would not be anything in heaven and the world, because there would not be anything of them relative

to the Itself. Every quality derives its quality from this, that there is an Itself from which it is, and to which it refers itself that it may be what it is.

"This Itself which is the Divine Esse is not in place, but with those and in those who are in place, according to their reception ; since neither of love and wisdom, nor of good and truth and life thence, which are the Itself in God, nor of God Himself, can place be predicated, nor progression from place to place : whence is omnipresence. Wherefore the Lord says that He is in the midst of His disciples, that He is in them, and they in Him. But because He cannot be received by any one such as He is in Himself, He appears such as He is in His essence, as the Sun above the angelic heavens, proceeding from which as light is Himself as to wisdom, and as heat Himself as to love. He Himself is not that Sun ; but the Divine love and Divine wisdom going forth immediately from Himself, round about Him, appear before the angels as the Sun. He Himself in the Sun is Man, is OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, BOTH AS TO THE DIVINE FROM WHICH HE IS AND AS TO THE DIVINE HUMAN ; since the Itself, which is love itself and wisdom itself, was His soul from the Father, thus the Divine Life, which is Life in itself. It is otherwise with a man, in whom the soul is not Life, but a recipient of life.

"This the Lord teaches, when He says, 'I am the way, the truth, and the LIFE ;' and again, 'As the Father hath LIFE IN HIMSELF, so also He hath given to the Son TO HAVE LIFE IN HIMSELF' (John v. 26). LIFE IN HIMSELF is God. To these things they added that those who are in any spiritual light can hence perceive that the Divine Esse, since it is One, the Same, the Itself, and thence Indivisible, cannot be given in several ; and that if it should be said to be given, there would be manifest contradictions in the appellations.

"While I listened to these things the angels perceived in my thought the common ideas of the Christian Church about a trinity of persons in unity, and their unity in trinity, in re-

gard to God ; as also about the birth of the Son of God from eternity. And then they said, 'What are you thinking? Are you not thinking from natural light, with which our spiritual light does not accord? Unless, then, you put away the ideas of such thought, we must close heaven to you and go away.' But I replied, 'Enter, I pray, more deeply into my thought, and perhaps you will see an accordance.' And they did so, and saw that by three persons I understood three Divine proceeding attributes, which are creation, redemption, and regeneration, and that these attributes are of the One God ; that by the birth of the Son of God from eternity, I understood His birth foreseen from eternity and provided in time ; that it is not above, but contrary to what is natural and rational to think that a Son was born from God from eternity : on the other hand, that the Son born from God by the virgin Mary in time is the Only Son of God, and the Only-begotten ; and that to believe otherwise is a huge error. And then I told them that my natural thought about the trinity and unity of persons, and about the birth of the Son of God from eternity, I had from the doctrine of faith of the Church, which has its name from Athanasius.

"Then the angels said, 'It is well ;' and they asked me to say from their mouth, that if any one does not go to the Very God of heaven and earth, he cannot come into heaven, because heaven is heaven from that Only God ; and that God is Jesus Christ, who is Jehovah Lord, from eternity Creator, in time Redeemer, and to eternity Regenerator ; thus who is at the same time Father, Son, and Holy Spirit ; and that this is the gospel which is to be preached.

"After this, the heavenly light before seen over the opening returned and gradually descended and filled the interiors of my mind and illuminated my ideas of the trinity and unity of God. And I then saw my preconceived ideas, which had been merely natural, separated as chaff from the wheat under the winnowing-fan, and carried off as by the wind to the north of heaven and dispersed." (T. C. R. 25, 26.)

There is great satisfaction in learning thus circumstantially by what means Swedenborg's early ideas of tri-personality were finally dissipated. Never extreme, we have seen them little by little losing their hold and giving way to true, rational, spiritual ideas. Now at last, what remained, the mere husks of thought, are gone to the winds. Unfortunately we cannot fix the date of the vision. This account was first printed in 1766, in *The Apocalypse Revealed*, but the vision was given, no doubt, many years earlier.

It is natural to suppose that such purification of thought as is here described, such assimilation to the thought of the angelic society with which communication was opened, might introduce Swedenborg into permanent association with its members. With our interest in the man, we can hardly help wanting to follow on and learn more of the intercourse that had this pleasant beginning, in its personal aspects. But such wishes are vain, and find no response from Swedenborg. Not one word is said of himself in all his theological and spiritual works which is not necessary to the presentation of his subject-matter. This exclusion of himself, moreover, has no appearance of being labored; it is the simple result of entire pre-occupation with greater themes, with Divinely given instruction for generations to come, perforce excluding all merely individual interests.

CHAPTER XI.

ASSESSORSHIP. — THE ARCANA. — THE APOCALYPSE.

WE have followed Swedenborg in his spiritual experience to the last of January, 1748. We must recur to an earlier date, in order to keep equally informed of his worldly affairs. Arriving in London from Amsterdam, May 17, 1744, he was still there in April, 1745, going on with *The Animal Kingdom*, and publishing *The Worship and Love of God*, when, after sixteen months of such trial and preparation as we have seen, he learned that his appointed work was the unfolding of the Word of God. It was in London that he began his task, remaining there till August, when he returned home and resumed his attendance at the College of Mines. To the duties of his assessorship he continued to give attention till June, 1747, when the College recommended him to King Frederic for promotion to the place of Councillor. But Swedenborg, instead of joining in the request, wrote to the King that he felt it incumbent on him to finish the work on which he was then engaged, and begged that the place might be filled by another, and he himself released from office. As a further favor, in consideration of his thirty years' service in the College, and of the numerous journeys he had taken and books he had published at his own expense for the public benefit, he requested that he might be allowed to continue to draw his half-salary in the future, as he had in the past when absent from Sweden, with leave to go abroad to complete his undertakings,—at the same time begging that no higher rank should be bestowed on him.

In reply to these requests King Frederic wrote, under date of June 12, 1747,—

"Although we would gladly see him continue at home the faithful services he has hitherto rendered to us and to his country, still we can so much the less oppose his wish as we feel sufficiently assured that the above-named work on which he is engaged will in time contribute to the general use and benefit, not less than the other valuable works written and published by him have contributed to the use and honor of his country, as well as of himself. We therefore decree, and by this open letter release Emanuel Swedenborg from the office of Assessor in our and the country's College of Mines, which he has hitherto filled with renown; and as a token of the satisfaction with which we look upon his long and faithful services, we also most graciously permit him to retain for the rest of his life the half of his salary as an Assessor."

The official record of the conclusion of Swedenborg's services in the College is simple and honorable to all:—

"*June 15.* Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg handed in to the College of Mines the Royal Decree by which he was released from his duties here in the Royal College, retaining during his life half of his salary as an Assessor.

"All the members of the Royal College regretted losing so worthy a colleague, and they asked the Assessor to kindly continue attending the sessions of the College until all those cases should be adjudicated that had been commenced during his attendance at the College, to which the Assessor kindly assented.

"*July 17.* Assessor Swedenborg, who intends as soon as possible to commence his new journeys abroad, came up for the purpose of taking leave of the Royal College. He thanked all those at the Royal College for the favor and kindness he had received from them during his connection with the College, and commended himself to their further kindly remembrances.

"The Royal College thanked the Assessor for the minute

care and fidelity with which he had attended to the duties of his office as an Assessor up to the present time ; they wished him a prosperous journey and a happy return ; after which he left."

The half salary, six hundred dalers in silver, or one hundred and twelve dollars, thus kindly continued to Swedenborg by way of pension for past services and assistance in the work now in hand, is of interest to us as having supplied an essential part of the means by which he was enabled to prosecute his labors at ease and to publish his explications of Scripture. Though he lived modestly and simply in his own quiet home at Stockholm, or at his lodgings in London, for which he paid about six shillings a week, his private income would have proved insufficient for what he had to do.¹ It is a pleasant fact that his new labors, undertaken in the Divine service, were sustained by the public funds of his country. How essential it was in this service that he should be relieved from worldly care, we may judge, not only from what we have already quoted from the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*,² but more definitely from these passages in his "Diary":—

"I have learned by experience, that when I was being led hither and thither in the heavens, did I slip into thoughts of worldly affairs, then what I perceived in the heavenly abode at once disappeared ; and so I learned that those who let down their thoughts into the world, slip down out of heaven." (S. D. 304.)

"When I have been intensely engaged in worldly thoughts, as when I was anxious about the needful money, and to-day while I wrote a letter, my mind being detained in these things for some little time, I fell then into a corporeal state, as it

¹ From a statement preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm, it appears that Swedenborg had loaned at interest in 1765 the sum of sixty thousand dalers in copper,—less than four thousand dollars in American currency, yielding about two hundred and thirty dollars income. But the state of exchange was such that he could not draw in London more than half or two-thirds this amount.

² See pp. 150-160.

were, so that spirits could not speak with me, and were seemingly absent." (S. D. 1166.)

"Whenever I thought about my little garden, about the one who has the care of it, about expecting to be called home, about money, about the disposition of my acquaintances, or those who were in the house, about what was to be written, how it would be received by men, whether it would be understood, about new garments to be bought, and many such things,—when I was kept in such reflection long, spirits brought in unsuitable, troublesome, wrong ideas, increasing my anxieties; but it was observed that when I was kept out of such thoughts for months and years, I had no care and they brought no trouble." (S. D. 3624.)

From several minor circumstances the Rev. R. L. Tafel concludes that Swedenborg now went to Holland and remained there for more than a year, busily engaged in completing the "Biblical Index," in noting his spiritual experiences, of which during this time we have nearly a thousand printed pages, and in writing the first volume of the *Arcana Cælestia*.

The *Arcana Cælestia*, to which we have already several times alluded, was published in eight large quarto volumes, which later octavo editions have increased, with the index, to thirteen. The first volume was printed for the author in London in 1748 and 1749, bearing the imprint of the latter year, and the last volume in 1756. John Lewis, the publisher, in advertising the second volume, in 1750, says,—

"Though the author of the *Arcana Cælestia* is undoubtedly a very learned and great man, and his works highly esteemed by the *literati*, yet he is no less distinguished for his modesty than his great talents, so that he will not suffer his name to be made public. But though I am positively forbid to discover that, yet I hope he will excuse me if I venture to mention his benign and generous qualities. How he bestowed his time and labors in former years I am not certainly informed, though I have heard by those who have been long

acquainted with him that they were employed in the same manner as I am going to relate ; but what I have been an eye-witness to, I can declare with certain truth ; and therefore I do aver that this gentleman, with indefatigable pains and labor, spent one whole year in studying and writing the first volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, was at the expense of two hundred pounds to print it, and also advanced two hundred pounds more for the printing of this second volume ; and when he had done this, he gave express orders that all the money that should arise in the sale of this large work should be given towards the charge of the propagation of the Gospel. He is so far from desiring to make a gain of his labors, that he will not receive one farthing back of the four hundred pounds he has expended ; and for that reason his works will come exceedingly cheap to the public.”.

The “Arcana” was the first work that Swedenborg had felt authorized to prepare for the press and issue to the public in pursuance of his mission. To this mission his life and all that he had were now wholly devoted, with no desire for return to himself of either profit or renown. Little in fact of either was likely to accrue to him in his own generation. The second volume was issued in six parts, both in Latin and in English, the translation being made by Mr. John Merchant. And though they were, as John Lewis says, unaccountably cheap (eight-pence each), we find Swedenborg noting in his “Diary” (n. 4422), what he learned from letters, that not more than four copies had been sold within two months. The angels with him wondered at this ; but the wonder ceased when, on being remitted into the state of thought in which they had been in the world, they found themselves rejecting these same writings. Thus he learned how little prepared the world was for what he had to teach. But he was not discouraged, for he felt that the work was not his own. Even before the first volume was published, it was given him to perceive that there would be five different ways in which his writings would be received : First, there would be those who

would wholly reject them, because of being in a different persuasion. Second, those who would receive them as matters of learning, and be delighted with them as matters of curiosity. Third, those who would receive them intellectually and readily enough, but would still remain in the same life as before. Fourth, those who would receive with persuasion and let the doctrines penetrate and affect their lives in certain states and accomplish some use. Fifth, those who would receive with joy, and become established in them. (S. D. 2955.) How small this fifth class remains even to this day is no matter of surprise to those who realize what a vast change of life is necessary before we find our heart's delight in being brought into the presence of our Lord, in His Word.

The *Arcana Cœlestia* being the first book that Swedenborg published after his internal sight was opened and in obedience to the Divine command, its opening sentences have on that account a peculiar interest : —

“I. That the Word of the Old Testament contains arcana of heaven, and that all and each of the things therein regard the Lord, His heaven, the Church, faith, and the things which are of faith, no mortal apprehends from the letter ; for, from the letter or the sense of the letter no one sees anything else than that they regard in general the external things of the Jewish Church ; when yet there are everywhere internal things which are nowhere manifest in the external, except a very few which the Lord revealed and explained to the Apostles ; as, that sacrifices signify the Lord, that the land of Canaan and Jerusalem signify heaven, whence Canaan and Jerusalem are called heavenly and Paradise.

“II. But that all things and each, yea the most particular, even to the least jot, signify and involve spiritual and heavenly things, the Christian world is hitherto profoundly ignorant, and so it has little regard for the Old Testament. Yet the truth might be known merely from this, that the Word, because it is the Lord's and from the Lord, could in no wise be given without containing interiorly such things as are of

heaven, of the Church, and of faith ; not otherwise could it be called the Word of the Lord, nor could it be said that there is any life in it ; for whence is its life, unless from those things which are of life ? that is, unless from this, that all and each of the things in it have reference to the Lord, who is the very Life itself ? Wherefore whatsoever does not interiorly regard Him, does not live ; nay, whatever expression in the Word does not involve Him, or in its own manner relate to Him, is not Divine.

“III. Without such life the Word, as to the letter, is dead ; for it is with the Word as with man, who, as is known in the Christian world, is external and internal ; the external man separate from the internal is the body, and thus dead ; but the internal is what lives and gives to the external to live. The internal man is the soul. Thus the Word, as to the letter alone, is as the body without the soul.

“IV. From the sense of the letter alone, when the mind is fixed in it, it can in no wise be seen that it contains such things ; as in this first part of Genesis, from the sense of the letter nothing else is known than that it treats of the creation of the world and of the Garden of Eden, which is called Paradise ; also of Adam as the first created man : who imagines anything more ? But that these things contain arcana which have never hitherto been revealed, will be sufficiently evident from what follows ; and indeed that the first chapter of Genesis, in the internal sense, treats of the NEW CREATION of man, or of his REGENERATION, in general, and of the Most Ancient Church in particular ; and indeed in such manner that there is not the least particle of an expression that does not represent, signify, and involve these things.

“V. But that such is the case no mortal can ever know, unless from the Lord. For this reason it is permitted to state at the outset that of the Lord’s mercy it has been granted me now for several years to be constantly and continuously in the company of spirits and angels, to hear them

speaking, and in turn to speak with them ; hence it has been given me to hear and see astonishing things which are in the other life, which have never come to the knowledge of any man, nor into his idea. I have there been instructed concerning different kinds of spirits ; concerning the state of souls after death ; concerning hell, or the lamentable state of the unfaithful ; concerning heaven, or the most happy state of the faithful, especially concerning the doctrine of faith which is acknowledged in the whole heaven ; on which subjects, by the Divine mercy of the Lord, many things will be said in the following pages."

Following this introduction, Swedenborg prints the whole of the first chapter of Genesis in Latin. Then he gives a summary of the contents of the chapter in the internal sense, as follows : —

"The six days, or times, which are so many successive states of man's regeneration, are in general as follows : —

"The first state is that which precedes, both from infancy and immediately before regeneration, and is called a void, emptiness, and thick darkness. And the first movement, which is the mercy of the Lord, is the spirit of God moving itself upon the faces of the waters.

"The second state is when distinction is made between the things which are the Lord's and those which are man's own ; those which are the Lord's are called in the Word 'remains,' and are here especially the knowledges of faith which man has acquired from infancy, which are stored up and are not manifest before he comes into this state. This state seldom exists at the present day without temptation, misfortune, or grief, which cause the things of the body and the world, or his own, to become quiet and, as it were, to die. Thus the things of the external man are separated from those of the internal : in the internal are the remains stored up by the Lord for this time and this use.

"The third state is that of repentance, in which from the internal man he speaks piously and devoutly, and brings forth

good things, as the works of charity, but which are nevertheless inanimate because he regards them as from himself. These are called the tender grass, then the herb yielding seed, and afterwards the tree yielding fruit.

"The fourth state is when he is affected by love and illumined by faith ; he before indeed spoke pious things and brought forth good things, but from a state of temptation and distress, not from faith and charity. These therefore, love and faith, are now enkindled in the internal man, and are called the two great lights.

"The fifth state is, that he speaks from faith, and thereby confirms himself in truth and good ; the things which he then brings forth are animate, and are called the fishes of the sea and the birds of the heavens.

"The sixth state is, when from faith and thence from love he speaks true things and does good things ; the things which he then brings forth are called the living soul and creature. And because he then begins to act from love, also, as well as from faith, he becomes a spiritual man, which is called an image of God. His spiritual life is delighted and sustained by the things that are of the knowledges of faith and of the works of charity, which are called his food ; and his natural life is delighted and sustained by the things that are of the body and the senses ; from which there is a combat until love reigns and he becomes a celestial man.

"They who are regenerated do not all arrive at this state, but some, and the greatest part at this day, only to the first ; some only to the second ; some to the third, the fourth, and the fifth ; few to the sixth, and scarcely any to the seventh."

The seventh state, here but alluded to, is described in the next chapter, in the explanation of the seventh day. After this summary of the contents of the first chapter, he begins with the particular unfolding of the internal sense, verse by verse, clause by clause, premising that,—

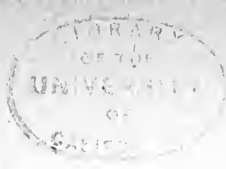
"In the following pages by the LORD is meant solely the Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ ; and He is called Lord

without the other names. He is acknowledged and adored as Lord in the entire heaven, because He has all power in the heavens and in the earth. He commanded also saying, 'Ye call Me Lord, and ye say rightly, for I am' (John xiii. 13). And after the resurrection the disciples called Him Lord.

"Through the whole heaven they know no other Father than the Lord, because they are One, as He said: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' Philip saith, 'Show us the Father.' Jesus saith to him, 'Am I so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father: how sayest thou then, show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in Me? Believe Me that I am in the Father and the Father in Me' (John xiv. 6-11)."

Twenty-six octavo pages are given to the explication of this first chapter, and then our author says,—

"This then is the internal sense of the Word, its very life, which does not at all appear from the sense of the letter; but the arcana are so many that volumes would not be sufficient for unfolding them. Here only a very few are declared, and such as may prove that regeneration is here treated of, and that this proceeds from the external man to the internal. Thus the angels understand the Word. They know nothing at all which is of the letter, not even one word, what it proximately signifies, still less the names of countries, cities, rivers, and persons, which occur so frequently in the historical and prophetical parts. They have only an idea of the things signified by words and names; as, by Adam in Paradise they have a perception of the Most Ancient Church, and not of the Church itself, but of the faith towards the Lord of that Church; by Noah, the Church remaining with posterity and continued to the time of Abram; by Abraham, not the man who lived, but the saving faith which he represented; and so on. Thus they perceive things spiritual and celestial, altogether abstracted from words and names."



In this manner the work is continued, in its twelve volumes, through Genesis and Exodus, with a few illustrative pages at the end of chapters, from the author's spiritual experience. At the close of the fourth volume he begins a series of these illustrative intermediate chapters with these words :—

“It is now allowed to relate and describe wonderful things which, so far as I know, have not as yet been known to any one, nor even entered into the mind of any one,—namely, that the entire heaven is so formed as to correspond to the Lord, to His Divine Human ; and that man is so formed as to correspond to heaven in regard to all and each of the things in him, and by heaven to the Lord. This is a great arcanum which is now to be revealed, and of which we shall treat here and at the close of the subsequent chapters.”

This subject is continued through three volumes, in the course of which the correspondence is given of the functions of all the principal parts of the body, with the analogous functions in the spiritual man, and some account given of the angels or spirits who are the seat of these functions and thus occupy the corresponding regions of the Greatest Man, that is, of heaven. Only long experience of thought in accordance with this sublime truth can bear witness to the boon of its revelation ; and the longer and more enlightened the experience, the higher becomes the appreciation.

The intermediate portions of the eighth volume are occupied with the connection of angels and spirits with men, and of the soul with the body, and those of the four succeeding volumes with an account of the spirits and inhabitants of other planets. In addition to what is thus appended to the chapters, through several of the volumes some introductory doctrinal matter is prefixed to each chapter. From this interpolated material Swedenborg afterwards published several small volumes, with some changes and additions. Much of it is contained in the work on *Heaven and Hell*, and much in the treatises on *Influx and the Intercourse of the*

Soul and Body, on The Earths in the Universe, on The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine, and on The White Horse.

The style of the "Arcana" differs materially from that of the earlier *Adversaria*. It is no longer that of an explorer, just discovering, or about to discover, or just hearing things entirely new to him. It is now that of a master, full to overflowing with knowledge that had become familiar to him, and that lay broadly and clearly under his view, from which he had only to choose what would be most intelligible and most useful to his readers. He no longer doubts whether what he writes is quite correct and is to be printed. It is apparent that he is writing and printing under clearly recognized authority. Yet the careful student finds some minor points, though marvellously few, in which the author's later experience of twenty years developed additional clearness and slight modification.

An entire change from the method of the *Adversaria* appears in the confirmation of almost every interpretation given, by reference to other passages containing similar words throughout the Scriptures. For this Swedenborg had made extensive preparation in the studies of the *Adversaria*, and especially in his "Biblical Index," evidently provided for this very purpose. The same course was afterwards pursued in the explanation of the Apocalypse, at much greater length and with fuller explanation of the confirmatory passages cited; from which it comes to pass, that although the books of Genesis, Exodus, and the Revelation are the only books of the Word of which Swedenborg published a special exposition, there are few passages in the entire Scriptures on which his works do not throw light, either directly or indirectly.

The *Arcana Cœlestia*, to many people, is not easy reading. How can the deep, interior explanation, verse by verse, of Genesis and Exodus, with copious citation, be read with ease? It is delightful only to those who find interior delight

in perceiving the whole Word of the Lord to be full of His presence, of His infinite love and truth. And such, experience shows, are not confined to theologians or to men of trained intellect. Quite as many, and quite as earnest, they are found among the simple in heart,—unpretending women, and innocent youth. To such there is abundant beauty and delight in passages like the following, explaining and illustrating the 13th verse of the 31st chapter of Exodus:—

“‘Speak thou to the sons of Israel, saying,’—signifies the information of those who are of the Church by the Word. Concerning information by the Word something shall here be said: in the most ancient times men were informed concerning heavenly things, or those which relate to eternal life, by immediate intercourse with the angels of heaven; for heaven then acted as one with the men of the Church, inasmuch as it flowed in through the internal man into their external, whence they had not only illustration and perception, but also discourse with the angels. This time was called the golden age, because men were then in the good of love to the Lord; for gold signifies that good. Those things are also described by Paradise in the Word. Afterwards information about heavenly things and those which relate to eternal life, was effected by what are called correspondences and representations, the knowledge of which was derived from the most ancient men, who had immediate intercourse with the angels of heaven. Into these correspondences and representations heaven then flowed in with men, and gave illustration, for these are the external forms of heavenly things; and in proportion as men at that time were in the good of love and charity, in the same proportion they were illustrated, for all Divine influence out of heaven is into the good with man, and by good into truths; and whereas the man of the Church at that time was in spiritual good, which good in its essence is truth, therefore those times were called the silver age, for silver signifies such good. But when the knowledge of correspondences and of representations was

turned into magic, that Church perished, and a third succeeded, in which indeed all worship was effected by nearly similar things, but still it was unknown what they signified. This Church was instituted with the Judaic and Israelitish nation. But whereas information about heavenly things, or about those things which relate to eternal life, could not be effected with the men of that Church by influx into their interiors, and thus by illustration, therefore angels from heaven spake by a living voice with some of them, and instructed them about external things, but little about internal things, because these they could not comprehend. They who were in natural good received those things holily, whence those times were called brazen, for brass signifies such good. But when not even natural good remained with the man of the Church, the Lord came into the world, and reduced all things in the heavens and in the hells into order,—to the end that man may receive influx from Him out of heaven and be illustrated, and that the hells might not be any hindrance and let in thick darkness: then a fourth Church commenced, which is called Christian. In this Church information about heavenly things, or about the things which relate to eternal life, is effected solely by the Word, whereby man has influx and illustration; for the Word was written by mere correspondences and representations, which signify heavenly things, into which heavenly things the angels of heaven come, when man reads the Word: hence by the Word is effected the conjunction of heaven with the Church, or of the angels of heaven with the men of the Church, but only with those there who are in the good of love and charity. But whereas the man of this Church has extinguished this good also, therefore neither can he be informed by any influx and by illustration thence, only about some truths which are not joined with good. Hence these times are what are called iron, for iron denotes truth in the ultimate of order; but when truth is of such a quality, then it is such as is described in Daniel: ‘Whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay,

they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men ; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay' (chap. ii. v. 43). From this it may be manifest in what manner revelations have succeeded from the most ancient ages to the present : and at this day revelation is only given by the Word ; but genuine revelation with those who are in the love of truth for the sake of truth, and not with those who are in the love of truth for the sake of honor and gain as ends. For, if you are willing to believe it, the Lord is the Word itself, since the Word is Divine Truth ; and Divine Truth is the Lord in heaven, because from the Lord. Wherefore they who love Divine Truth for the sake of Divine Truth, love the Lord ; and with those who love the Lord, heaven flows in and illustrates : whereas they who love Divine Truth for the sake of honor and gain as ends, avert themselves from the Lord to themselves and to the world, and with them influx and illustration cannot be given. These also, since in the sense of the letter they keep the mind fixed in themselves and in their own fame and glory, apply that sense to such things as favor their own loves." (A. C. 10355.)

In the spring of 1750 Swedenborg returned again to Stockholm, having spent the intervening time partly in London, but mostly in Holland. In Stockholm he remained, tending his garden and busily employed on the "Arcana." About once a year he sent a new volume to his publisher in London, till the last, which was issued in 1756. We hear no more of him at the College of Mines, but for some time yet we have an occasional paper presented to the Diet. A paper of much importance had been presented by him in 1734, in opposition to a party plan of declaring war against Russia, which is supposed to have had great weight in maintaining peace at that time. A fragment of a memorial addressed by him to the Diet in 1755 urges the necessity of limiting the distillation of whiskey, "that is, if the consumption of

whiskey cannot be done away with altogether, which would be more desirable for the country's welfare and morality than all the income which could be realized from so pernicious a drink." In addition, the memorial urges a recall of the power granted to the Bank to grant loans on all property in the country, which he regarded as one of the causes of the bankruptcy into which it was drifting. By these means Swedenborg hoped that a check might be put on the drain from the country, as shown by the excess of imports over exports, and the balance of trade be restored in its favor.

In 1760, to anticipate a few years for the sake of continuity of subject, the financiers of Sweden found themselves unable to check the rapid advance of foreign exchange, whereby a Hamburg rix-daler had risen from thirty-five to seventy-five marks. Swedenborg was a member of a committee of the Diet on Finance, on which he is said to have had great influence. A memorial is preserved that he presented to the Diet on the subject, in which we find views acceptable to all sound financiers at the present day. His argument is to prove the necessity of curtailing the issue by the Bank, of loans on any other property than gold and silver; of gradually diminishing the amount of certificates of indebtedness that had been issued on other property, by requiring the debtors to pay each year a certain percentage of their debt in addition to the interest; of gradual redemption by the Bank of all other notes than those payable in coin; of prohibiting for the time all exportation of copper, and requiring the Bank to hoard it in anticipation of resumption; of abolishing the monopoly of the Iron-office; and finally of farming out the distillation of whiskey, as a means of revenue, if the consumption of the pernicious drink cannot be done away with altogether.

At the same time Swedenborg addressed a memorial to the King earnestly protesting against the exportation of copper, which he calls the foundation and main stay of the restoration of specie currency, and recommends instead that

for a certain number of years the mining companies should be allowed to coin their copper into "coin-plates," or else that the Government should coin it for them.

Not long afterwards Nordencrantz, Councillor of Commerce, who had been the chief supporter of the policy which Swedenborg opposed, printed and referred to the Diet a book on Swedish affairs, taking a most discouraging view of their condition and of the Swedish form of government, and attributing the depression in finances to other causes than those advanced by Swedenborg. The latter immediately replied, in a memorial to the Diet of a few pages, refuting the positions of Nordencrantz, maintaining that the government of Sweden was one of the best in the world, and showing that, while in every country there were abuses to be deplored, true patriotism and statesmanship required all to look on the better and more hopeful side of affairs, and not on the worse. He says,—

"Every human being is inclined by nature, and nothing is easier and pleasanter for him to do than to find faults in others, and to pass an unfavorable judgment upon them, inasmuch as all of us are by nature inclined to see the mote in our brother's eye and not to see the beam in our own eyes; moreover we are apt to strain out a gnat and to swallow a camel. All proud and evil-disposed men place their prudence in finding fault with and blaming others; and all generous and truly Christian souls place their prudence in judging all things according to circumstances, and hence in excusing such faults as may have arisen from weakness, and in inveighing against such evils as may have been done on purpose. The same also happens in a general way in that which concerns governments: faults, numberless faults may be found in all, so that volumes might be filled with them. Should I undertake to make known all the mistakes of which I have heard, and which I know from my own experience to have happened in England and Holland to the detriment of justice and the public good, I believe I might fill

a whole book with lamentations : when, nevertheless, those governments, together with our own in Sweden, are the very best in Europe, as every inhabitant, notwithstanding all the shortcomings which happen there, is safe in his life and property, and no one is a slave, but they are all free men. The Honorable Houses of the Diet will allow me to go still higher : if in this world there should exist a heavenly government, consisting of men who had an angelic disposition, there would nevertheless be in it faults caused by weakness, together with other shortcomings ; and if these were ferreted out, reported, and exaggerated, this government too might be undermined by calumny, and thereby gradually a desire might be raised among the well-disposed to change and destroy it. The best government, and that which is most wisely arranged, is our own government in Sweden ; inasmuch as all things are connected here as in a chain, and are joined together for the purpose of administering justice from the highest leader to the lowest."

Swedenborg spoke from much experience, having been a favorite with several kings, an officer of the government for thirty years in the College of Mines, and being in the Diet of the party which curtailed the royal power, retaining the supreme control in the Houses of the Diet themselves. This was in 1762. The next year Swedenborg's views prevailed, and his first measure passed, forbidding bank loans on movable property. The year after, Nordencrantz's party having again come into power, and he having made friends with Swedenborg, they combined on the proposition that the issue of paper-money should be limited to the amount of bullion stored in bank. Swedenborg wished to come to this point by degrees. Nordencrantz preferred to reach it at once, and so the Diet decided. But the measures proved too abrupt to be sustained, and in a few years all the ground that had been gained was lost.

Another state matter which gave Swedenborg concern at this time was the controversy between the Court and its par-

tisans on the one side, and the Diet in behalf of the people on the other. The latter party, under the lead of Count Höpken and other senators, had sustained the alliance of Sweden with France, against the wishes of the Royal family, which was allied to that of Prussia. The war that ensued was unfortunate, and in the reaction that followed, Höpken and two colleagues were obliged to resign. In 1761 Swedenborg memorialized the Diet in strong terms, urging the necessity of maintaining intact the government, at once free and conservative, which they had hitherto enjoyed, resisting the encroachments of the Court, backed by that of Prussia, itself under the influence of intriguing papacy, and maintaining sacred their alliance with France. In this view he strongly advised the restoration of Höpken and his colleagues, as tried and faithful friends of Sweden: advice that was afterwards followed. In short, to quote from Swedish authority, with abridgment,—

“Up to the time of his extreme old age Swedenborg interested himself in the administrative, financial, and political affairs of his country. As a member of the House of Nobles, he was an independent member, supporting whatever he saw to be worthy of his own position and to be right and generally useful, without allowing himself to be influenced by the right or the left side. Like every true friend of liberty, he was opposed alike to despotism and to anarchy. His entrance into the House of Nobles was contemporaneous with the re-establishment of freedom in Sweden. During his childhood and youth he had witnessed the misfortunes into which an unlimited monarchy had precipitated his country. He himself had seen the misery and distress which a war of eighteen years’ duration, with dearly-bought victories and bloody defeats, with decimated armies and bankrupt finances, attended by pestilence and famine, had brought upon it. Need we wonder, then, that Swedenborg was in favor of a constitution which set bounds to the arbitrary power and whims of a hitherto unlimited monarchy; which

prevented the dissolution of the country, and gradually changed discontent into satisfaction, at least among the majority of its citizens? Swedenborg enjoyed the good fortune envied by many, of having been able during half a century to influence by his vote the resolutions passed for the welfare of his country, and of not giving up his place in the House of Nobles before the year 1772, when death closed his eyes to the darkened prospects with which a change in the administration threatened Sweden's independence. He thus belonged to the whole of that period of freedom which is valued so highly by many, and is made light of by others. With that period his political career began and ended."¹

To this Swedish view of his political position let us add one from France. M. Matter says,—

"The principles of speculative politics of Swedenborg are as pure as those of his practical politics. There are none more advanced. They are modern politics elevated to their entire purity."²

He then quotes the following passages from *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*:—

"Rulers are necessary for the preservation of order in the various societies of mankind; and they ought to be persons well skilled in the laws, men of wisdom, having the fear of God. There must also be order among the rulers themselves; lest any of them, from caprice or ignorance, should sanction evils which are contrary to order, and thereby destroy it. This is guarded against by the appointment of superior and inferior rulers, among whom there is subordination. . . . Rulers set over those things which relate to the world, or civil affairs, are called magistrates, and their chief, where such a form of government is established, is called the king. . . . The royalty itself is not in any person, but is annexed to the person. The king who believes that the royalty is in

¹ *Nya Kyrkan, i Sverige* part ii. p. 48.

² *Swedenborg: sa vie*, etc., p. 23.

his own person, or the officer who supposes that the dignity of his office is in his own person, is not wise.

"The royalty consists in administering and in judging from justice, according to the laws of the realm. The king who considers the laws superior to himself is wise ; but he who considers himself superior to the laws is not wise. The king who regards the laws as above himself places the royalty in the law, and submits to its dominion ; he knows that the law is justice, and that all justice which is really such is Divine. But he who regards himself as above the laws places the royalty in himself, and either believes himself to be the law, or the law,—that is, justice,—to be derived from himself. Hence he arrogates to himself that which is Divine, and to which he ought to be in subjection.

"The law,—that is, justice,—ought to be enacted in the realm by persons well skilled in legislation, men of wisdom, who fear God ; and both the king and his subjects ought then to live according to it. The king who lives according to the laws so enacted, and therein sets an example to his subjects, is truly a king." (H. D. 312-333.)

Little did the members of Sweden's Diet know, as they listened to Assessor Swedenborg's common-sense advice on matters of state and finance, what stupendous changes were going on in the world of spirits, within their associate's personal knowledge. With the nearer presence there of the Lord of heaven ; with the clear revelation of Himself, by the Spirit of Truth, in His Word, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, from the Beginning to the End ; and with the publication even in this world of genuine, heavenly doctrine, drawn from this Word alone, concerning Him, His Word, and the duties of men,—the purposed and natural effect of the new revelation was produced. A judgment was being effected, the judgment that was foretold to the disciples as to attend this coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, that is, in the clouds of the letter of the Word ; and

that was exhibited in representation to John in the vision of the Apocalypse.

As early as in July, 1746, Swedenborg noted, in his *Adversaria*, that "in heaven all the angels of God Messiah are ardently awaiting the last day, for they think of nothing else" (vi. 4445).

In October, 1747, he writes in his *Spiritual Diary* about the good souls as yet held in captivity, but to be liberated in the last judgment, and rejoices in being permitted to communicate to them something of the heavenly joy that was granted him (n. 218). A few days later he writes,—

"Last night when awakened, many things were shown me which I cannot describe; there was a sort of revolution of spirits, with clear perception that many who were in the lowest heaven were being thrust down, and that many who were in captivity were ascending" (n. 220). Then he describes a severe struggle that took place, the evil-disposed trying to take away from the well-disposed the mercy that was extended to them, and the power of this mercy as it came from heaven and from the Lord,—the struggle being permitted for the purpose of making those who were to be saved feel their utter dependence on the Divine mercy. But this was only a representation of what was about to take place.

Again, on the 20th of November, he notes perceiving when awake in the night that very many of those bound in the pit were being taken up out of the pit, which was beneath the lowest heaven, the ascent lasting a long time, showing the great numbers. From this vision again he concludes that the last time is now at hand (n. 259).

On the 5th of December he writes,—

"I have wondered that thousands and perhaps myriads were raised up out of the pit or lower parts of the earth, and indeed in what way they could all be allotted their places in the heavens; at last I have been taught to-day that the most part of them seem to themselves to be conveyed as by

chariots and to be borne around to various places, and to try each one whether here or there is his proper place, that is, whether there is an agreement of his soul with those who are there ; and otherwise, as generally happens, being borne on farther until they find agreement and thus rest, that is, with souls which agree with their own disposition ; nor is there ever a soul raised up by God Messiah which does not find its rest, and thus company, with others conformable to its own disposition" (n. 297).

On the 1st of September, 1748, he writes,—

"Very many were now glorifying the Lord on account of His coming and their liberation from hell, and there was so great joy at their good fortune that some said they could not bear it. The glorification was as if general, so that some even in hell desired to join in it" (n. 3029).

At this time it becomes very common for Swedenborg to speak of the "dragon," meaning thereby the vast assemblage of spirits who claimed the right to heaven, with no repentance and no real acknowledgment of the Lord, and who both oppressed the faithful and opposed all true faith in the Lord, proceeding from Him,—in effect, we find, waiting to devour the man-child, the true doctrine, that was to be born. From his later works we learn that the heaven and earth described in the Apocalypse as passing away, were in the world of spirits, in the midst between the true heaven and hell. The immense crowd of professed Christians gathered in that world during the many centuries under which the Church had been misruled, who had gained no true idea of their Lord on earth, and consequently were unable to approach and recognize Him in His Kingdom, either by their conceit imagined themselves already in heaven, or in humility, under subjection, awaited His coming in their lower earth, as it was called. The latter were beginning to be guided by the new light that was penetrating, and to be raised up into the Presence of their Lord. The time was coming for the fictitious heavens, formed by those who were represented by the dragon and

by Babylon, to be judged and dispersed according to their inward quality.

It is amazing to find in Swedenborg's "Diary," for the ten years from 1747, with what fulness and circumstance he has described these various collections of spirits, their quality, and what was being done with them. During all this time, the same within which the "Arcana" was being published, preparations were going on for the judgment, by means of the light that was being diffused from the recognition of the Lord in His Word. Without special statement of Swedenborg to that effect, it is evident from study of the subject that the mass of spirits in the world of spirits, between heaven and hell, including those who had formed for themselves and were living in fictitious or imaginary heavens, were up to this time as ignorant of the spiritual and celestial senses of the Scriptures, and thus of true heavenly doctrine, as were the men whom they had left on earth. And, further, the unfolding of these senses in the letter of the Word, or the revelation of them from heaven into the mind of Swedenborg was but a part, the ultimate part, of this same revelation or unfolding in the world of spirits, to those who were ready to receive it; and there first the revelation had its great effect.

In 1757, according to Swedenborg, the great work culminated, as foretold in the Apocalypse. For a full description of it we must refer to *The Apocalypse Explained*, in six large octavo volumes, to *The Apocalypse Revealed*, in two such volumes, or for a brief survey, to *The Last Judgment*, and the "Continuation" of the same. Suffice it to say here, that those on whom the judgment was executed were not the openly evil, for they had gone to their like in hell; nor the clear-sighted good, for they had found their homes in heaven: but they were on the one hand those who were to appearance good and inwardly evil, and on the other those who, good in heart, were not yet freed from the rule of false appearances. In the central part of this vast world were the

Reformed Protestants, for with them was the most knowledge of the Word of God. Next around them were the Papists; then the Mahometans in vast numbers, and lastly the Gentiles as a sea. The progress of the judgment was from, first, the Papists, represented by Babylon, through the Mahometans and Gentiles, to last of all the Reformed, by whom the sign of the Son of Man was seen in a white cloud. There was nothing hasty or despotic in their judgment. The light of the Lord of heaven appeared in His Word, by the teaching of angels who visited them all, and whoever welcomed the light was led up by it into heaven, while those whose evils were disclosed by it rushed downwards to hide themselves in the abyss.

That the judgment was exhibited by the Lord beforehand in vision to John was not for his immediate use, nor again, as Sir Isaac Newton well observed, "to gratify men's curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things; but that, after they [the prophecies] were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and His own Providence, not the interpreters, be then manifested thereby to the world."¹ Yet it is not without significance that it was John, the same disciple who was to tarry till his Lord should come, to whom it was given to be the witness of the things foretold,—John, whom the Lord loved and who represented those who are in the good of life from love to the Lord. That such are they who will await their Lord's coming and be witnesses of

¹ Sir Isaac continues: "For, as the few and obscure prophecies concerning Christ's first coming were for setting up the Christian religion, which all nations have since corrupted, so the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Christ's second coming are not only for predicting, but also for effecting a recovery and re-establishment of the long-lost truth, and setting up a kingdom wherein dwells righteousness. The event will prove the Apocalypse; and this prophecy, thus proved and understood, will open the old prophets, and all together will make known the true religion, and establish it. For he that will understand the old prophets, must begin with this; but the time is not yet come for understanding them perfectly, because the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to pass."—*Prophecies of Holy Writ*, part ii. sect. viii.

it to their fellow-men, is most plain. That it was by being led of the Divine Grace into the good of life from love to the Lord, that Swedenborg was prepared to be a witness of this coming and to behold the fulfilment of the vision, in order to make known its interpretation by the event, clearly appears. Moreover, the effect of the announcement of the Divine Presence was the same upon the new witness that it was upon the old. John fell as dead at the feet of the angel through whom the Lord spake. And Swedenborg fell dead, as to all that was of self, in the same Presence. But before John could realize this Presence, after he was spoken to, he had to turn himself, for he was not looking the right way. This Swedenborg explains to mean that when the churches turn themselves from their idea of a Trinity of persons, to that of a Trinity in One Person, the Lord Jesus Christ, there will be a new perception of Him in His Word. And such we find to have been notably the case with Swedenborg himself. The process of turning was going on during the whole period of the *Adversaria*, and when completed, in entire humility and clear vision of the Sun of heaven, the unfolding of the "Arcana" commenced.

The preparation of *The Apocalypse Explained* was nearly contemporaneous with the fulfilment of the predictions, beginning in 1757 and continuing some two years; but it was never completed or published by the author, although carefully prepared for the printer to the middle of the nineteenth chapter. The general plan of the work is similar to that of the "Arcana,"—first, the full text of a chapter, then with the first chapters a few sentences introducing the subject, followed by a particular explication of each verse or phrase, confirmed by numerous citations of other passages in the Word and explanations of them. In the fifth volume there begin to be full expositions of various doctrinal matters at the end of the sections, some of which have since been published in separate treatises. The entire work was published in the Latin in 1785–89, under the editorship of a

committee of five English gentlemen, who completed it by adding the lacking chapters from *The Apocalypse Revealed*, and the intermediate matter from a treatise left in manuscript on the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom.¹ Of the two works, for reasons that we shall presently see, the explication of *The Apocalypse Revealed* is the more specific and practically intelligible to us at the present time. But the earlier and more copious *Apocalypse Explained* is full of the heavenly understanding of the Word, such, we have reason to suppose, as had the angels of the spiritual heaven, and as was the efficient means used by the Lord in the very accomplishment of the predictions; while in the doctrinal matters at the ends of the sections we find this heavenly understanding of the Word clearly set forth and illustrated for our use. For example :—

“The Word in its literal sense appears before a worldly man, whose mind is not elevated above the sensual sphere, so simple that scarce anything can be more so; but still Divine truth, such as is in the heavens, and from which angels derive their wisdom, lies concealed therein as in its sanctuary. For the Word in the letter is like a shrine or secret place in the midst of a temple covered with a veil, within which lie repositied arcana of celestial wisdom, such as

¹ About the time of publication, while the manuscript of this work was in charge of Mr. Peckitt, one of the five editors, a fire broke out at midnight and soon reached his house. While the family and the firemen were busy rescuing what property they could, the building tumbled in and they narrowly escaped with their lives. In the confusion Mr. Peckitt did not think of the precious manuscript, which had lain in his desk, till the next morning, when he was in despair at recalling the sight of the desk in flames. At the ruins, however, he found a friend who had picked up several volumes in the street and carried them home for safety. Among them was the manuscript volume of the *Apocalypse Explained*. A fireman, finding the desk too heavy to move, had opened it and thrown its contents into the street. Carrying the volume in his arms to a meeting of his little society who were grieving over his misfortune, Mr. Peckitt threw it on the table and burst into tears. “There,” said he, “the greatest treasure which I had in my house is preserved in safety; and for the sake of that, I willingly submit to my great loss.” He had lost a library of several thousand rare volumes.

the ear has not heard ; since in the Word and in every particular thereof is contained a spiritual sense, and in this a Divine celestial sense, which, viewed in itself is the very Divine truth which is in the heavens, and gives wisdom to angels and illustration to men.

“Divine truth which is in the heavens is light proceeding from the Lord as a sun, which is Divine love ; and inasmuch as Divine truth proceeding from the Lord is the light of heaven, it is also Divine wisdom. This is what illumines both the minds and the eyes of angels ; and the same, too, is what enlightens the minds of men, but not their eyes, and gives them to understand truth and also to perceive good,—as is the case when man reads the Word from the Lord, and not from himself. For he is then in company with the angels, and inwardly in a perception like the spiritual perception of angels ; and the spiritual perception enjoyed by a man-angel flows into his natural perception, which belongs to him in the world, and enlightens this also. Hence the man who reads the Word from the affection of truth has illustration by or through heaven from the Lord.” (A. E. 1067.)

“That the Word is holy and Divine, from its inmost to its outermosts, is not manifest to the man who leads himself, but to the man whom the Lord leads ; for the man who leads himself sees only the external part of the Word and judges of it from its style, whereas the man whom the Lord leads judges of the external covering of the Word from what is holy contained within. The Word is like a garden which may be called a heavenly paradise, in which are dainties and delicacies of every kind,—dainties in the way of fruits and delicacies in the way of flowers, in the midst of which are trees of life, and near them fountains of living water ; but round about the garden are forest trees, and near them streams or rivers. The man who leads himself judges of that paradise, which is the Word, from its circumference, where are the forest trees ; but the man whom the Lord leads judges of it from the centre, where are the trees of

life. The man whom the Lord leads is also really in that centre and looks upwards to the Lord ; but the man who leads himself really sits down in the circumference and looks outward to the world. The Word is also like a fruit in which within there is nutritious pulp, in the centre of that seed-capsules, containing in their inmost part a prolific principle which in good ground germinates. It is also as a most beautiful infant wrapped in swaddling clothes upon swaddling clothes, everywhere except the face, the infant himself being in the inmost heaven, the swaddling clothes in the lower heavens, and the outer covering in the earth. Since such is the nature of the Word, it is holy and Divine from its inmost to its outermost" (n. 1072).

The uncovered face in the last simile is in accordance with what Swedenborg often shows, that in certain passages of the Word its Divinity and real meaning is as plainly to be seen by all who regard it with humble heart, as the spirit of a man in his face and eyes.

"The reason why the Word is such, is because in its origin it is the Divine Itself proceeding from the Lord, which is called Divine truth,—and this in its descent to men in the world has passed through the heavens in order, according to their degrees, which are three. And in every heaven it is written in accommodation to the wisdom and intelligence of the angels there ; and lastly it is brought down from the Lord through the heavens to men, and is there written and promulgated in a manner accommodated to their understanding and apprehension.

"This, therefore, is the sense of the letter, in which Divine truth lies repositied in distinct order, such as it is in the three heavens. From which it is evident that all the wisdom of the angels who are in the three heavens is included in our Word from the Lord ; and in the inmost thereof the wisdom of the angels of the third heaven, which is incomprehensible and ineffable to man, because full of arcana and treasures of Divine truths. These lie stored up in all and

each of the things of our Word. And whereas Divine truth is the Lord in the heavens, therefore also the Lord Himself is present, and may be said to dwell in all and each of the things of His Word, as in His heavens. As He Himself said of the ark of the covenant, in which only the ten precepts inscribed on two tables, the first fruits of the Word, were repositied,—that there He should speak with Moses and Aaron, that there He should be present, that there He would dwell, and that it was His holy of holies and His dwelling-place, as in heaven" (n. 1073).

"Love truly conjugal is from the Lord alone : the reason why it is from the Lord alone is because it descends from the love of the Lord towards heaven and the Church, and thence from the love of good and truth ; for it is the Lord from whom is good, and it is heaven and the Church in which is truth : hence it follows that love truly conjugal in its first essence is love to the Lord. . . . The genuine conjugal principle is given especially in the third heaven, because the angels there are in love to the Lord, acknowledge Him alone as God, and do His commandments. To do the commandments is with them to love Him. The commandments of the Lord are to them the truths in which they receive Him. There is conjunction of the Lord with them, and of them with the Lord, for they are in the Lord because in good, and the Lord is in them because in truth. This is the heavenly marriage, from which love truly conjugal descends.

"Inasmuch as love truly conjugal in its first essence is love to the Lord from the Lord, it is also innocence. Innocence consists in man's loving the Lord as his Father, by doing His commandments and desiring to be led by Him and not by himself, thus as an infant. Inasmuch as innocence is that love, it is the very *essence* of all good, and hence man has so much of heaven in himself, or is so much in heaven, as he is in conjugal love, because he is so much in innocence" (n. 995-96).

CHAPTER XII.

DOCTRINAL TREATISES.

ON laying aside for a time the explanation of the Apocalypse, Swedenborg prepared for the press several small works, in part drawn from what he had already written and in part new. Of these the following were printed, translating their titles: *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Lord; The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scripture; The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem; The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning Faith; Continuation concerning the Last Judgment and the Spiritual World.*

The last named of these treatises was published in 1763. The same year was printed the larger work entitled *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom*. As the "Arcana" and the works on the Apocalypse are the treasures of interpretations of the Scriptures, and the treatise on Heaven and Hell contains the sum of the new revelations about the other world, so this compact treatise on the Divine Love and Wisdom contains the philosophic basis of the new understanding to be given in the New Church of the Divine essence and existence, and of the Divine creation and sustenance of the world.

In this work Swedenborg seeks to lift the minds of his readers out of the bonds of time and space, and to help them to something of the understanding which angels have of the Divine nature and operation. The very statement of the design sufficiently indicates the difficulty attending its accomplishment. But while no one, we may venture to say,

has ever read the book carefully to the end and felt that he has wholly mastered its contents, we may say with no less certainty that no one has so read it without having more of heavenly wisdom and of Divine philosophy opened to him than he had ever dreamed.

The book, though but a small volume, is divided into five Parts. In Part First we are taught that Love is Life, and Life is Love ; that God alone is Love itself, because Life itself ; and that angels and men are recipients of life from Him ; that God is very Man, because the source of all that makes man, and of all that mirrors man in the universe ; that He is One and indivisible, God-man ; that His Divine Essence is Love and Wisdom, and that these together are not mere breath, but substance and form in themselves, the self-existing and sole-subsisting Being ; that all things in the universe are created and exist from this Divine Love and Divine Wisdom and are recipients thereof ; that their uses ascend by degrees from the lowest to man and through man to their Creator ; and that the Divine fills all space without space and is in all time without time, in greatest and least the same.

In Part Second we learn that in the spiritual world, as in the natural world, there is a Sun, on which all things depend for heat, light, and activity ; that the spiritual Sun, of which the natural sun is the image, is the first proceeding sphere of love and wisdom from the Lord as apparent to the minds of angels, and so, by the perfect correspondence there existing, visible before their eyes, as the effluence of God Himself, from which their bodies have warmth and light, while their minds are penetrated with His Love and Wisdom, the Holy Spirit ; that all angels have this Sun, or the Divine Presence before them, howsoever they turn ; and that their position in the different heavens and different quarters depends on the manner in which they look towards and behold the Lord in their Sun : that by this Sun the Lord has created the natural suns and all things in the universe, and that this

is living, while all nature is dead, having its life only and continually from Him, through His spiritual Sun.

In Part Third Swedenborg sets forth with much fulness and illustration the doctrine of discrete degrees, which he had previously developed to some extent in his philosophical works, but now finds indispensable to the proper understanding of spiritual things. Discrete degrees are distinguished from continuous or simultaneous degrees—to use an inferior but palpable illustration—as a solid, a liquid, and a gas are distinguished in their difference from such degrees of fluidity as are seen in a liquid of greater or less density. A better illustration of discrete degrees, used by Swedenborg, is that of the several atmospheres around the earth: the grossest, which we call air, by which sound affects the ear; the more ethereal, called by Swedenborg *ether*, by whose vibrations light affects the eye; and a still rarer, more active, all-encompassing and all-permeating element, which he calls in his *Principia* the *magnetic*, but in the present work does not particularly name or describe. The magnetic is in the ethereal, even in all matter. The ethereal is in the aerial and in some more solid forms of matter. The grosser is the continent of the rarer and is created by means of it, yet is not a simple condensation of it, nor the same thing in grosser form. Such are the discrete degrees between soul and body and action with man; between Divinity, the world of the spirit, and the world of the body; between end, cause, and effect; between love, wisdom, and operation, in God and in man; between the three spiritual atmospheres proceeding from the spiritual Sun in which are maintained the three heavens, one within or above another and invisible to it, as the whole world of spirit is invisible to us. Further, this distinction of the heavens answers to three degrees or capacities in the soul, by the several openings of which man becomes an angel of the natural, spiritual, or celestial heaven in which reign respectively love of doing good deeds, love towards the neighbor, and love to the Lord. That these

three are in our sight as one, is because as yet we cannot look higher than the natural degree, and also because in the ultimate degree the higher degrees rest and are contained in their fulness and power. Hence the Word of God, which contains, one within the other, senses adapted to these several degrees of the mind, to the several heavens, and within all the Divine Wisdom itself, is in the sense of the letter in its fulness and power. Hence, too, the Lord Himself, who from eternity was Love and Wisdom, by entering in time into the lower, human degree which He had made, became there present in this humanity in fulness and power; for therein dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

In Part Fourth we have an attempt to put into natural language, not the angelic ideas themselves,—which Swedenborg expressly shows to be so high above our own as to be untranslatable into our tongue,—but such a resemblance of them as our language is capable of, by correspondence. The subject is creation. He shows that the universe reproduces man, and that man mirrors and is produced from the infinity of God-man. Then he combats the idea that the universe, or anything, can be produced out of nothing, and shows that, as the nearest approach to the angelic idea, out of God proceeds a sphere of love and wisdom, which is not God, but from Him and in accordance with Him, and is the spiritual Sun, before described; that out of this Sun proceeds an atmosphere, or successive atmospheres, also before mentioned, which are this love and wisdom resolved into the use which is their end; that of these atmospheres are created the bodies of angels and spirits, with all their surroundings, as of the atmospheres proceeding from the natural sun are created the earths and all things upon them; and that at the same time these natural atmospheres and all things produced from them are created and sustained by means of the spiritual atmospheres. From the effort for use in the spiritual atmospheres, there is a constant effort in the natural atmospheres and earths to produce forms of uses, imaging

the universal use, man and the Infinite. As, however, the Lord suffers the good use of the atmospheres of heaven to be perverted to the very opposite in hell, so He suffers the influx of these perversions to bring to pass corresponding evil uses, noxious animals and plants, on earth ; while the influx without perversion brings forth only such good uses, beneficent animals and plants, as correspond to heavenly things. Both kinds are produced by power from Him, but only the good by His will.

Part Fifth treats of the creation of man, with will and understanding to receive the Lord's Love and Wisdom. The residence of these primarily in the brains and their representation in the heart and lungs are described at length, and afterwards the development and the mutual relation of the two faculties are described and illustrated by the action and mutual relation of the two organs :—

“That there is a correspondence of the will and understanding with the heart and lungs, and thence a correspondence of all things of the mind with all things of the body, is new and hitherto unknown, because it has not been known what spiritual is, and what is its difference from natural, and therefore what correspondence is,—there being a correspondence of spiritual with natural things, and thereby conjunction of them ; but still both might have been known. Who does not know that affection and thought are spiritual, and hence that all things of affection and thought are spiritual? Who does not know that action and speech are natural, and hence all things of action and speech natural? Who does not know that affection and thought, which are spiritual, cause a man to act and speak? Who may not hence know what the correspondence is of spiritual with natural things? Does not thought cause the tongue to speak, and affection with thought cause the body to act? They are two distinct things. I can think and not speak, and will and not act ; and it is known that the body does not think and will, but that thought flows into speech and

will into action. Does not affection shine forth in the face, and present therein a type of itself? This every one knows. Is not affection, considered in itself, spiritual, and the changes of face, or the looks, natural? Who might not hence have concluded that there is a correspondence of all things of the mind with all things of the body? And as all things of the mind relate to affection and thought, or, what is the same, to the will and understanding, and all things of the body to the heart and lungs,—who might not hence have concluded that there is a correspondence of the will with the heart and of the understanding with the lungs? Such things have not been known, although they might have been known, because man has become so external that he is unwilling to acknowledge anything but what is natural.” (D. L. & W. 374.)

“The heavens are distinguished into two kingdoms, the celestial and the spiritual kingdom. Love to the Lord is predominant in the celestial kingdom, and wisdom from that love in the spiritual kingdom. The kingdom where love is predominant is called the cardiac kingdom of heaven, and the kingdom where wisdom is predominant is called the pulmonary kingdom of heaven” (n. 381).

“Here, for the sake of confirmation, I may adduce a representation of the correspondence of the will and understanding with the heart and lungs, which was seen in heaven among the angels. They, by a wonderful flowing into gyres, such as no words can express, formed the likeness of a heart and lungs, with all their interior structures; in doing which they followed the flow of heaven; for heaven tends to such forms by virtue of the inflowing of love and wisdom from the Lord. Thus they represented the conjunction of the heart and lungs, and at the same time their correspondence with the love of the will and the wisdom of the understanding” (n. 376).

In this we have a glimpse of the need to Swedenborg, for understanding the soul's kingdom, of his thorough prepara-

tion in the study of the human body. The soul, as he rightly assumed from his philosophical researches, determines the structure of the body, even to minutest particulars, in accordance with its own essence and manifold needs. It is, then, itself a prior and more perfect example of the human form. But least forms image greatest. The soul images the whole heaven ; for the whole heaven as a one, like each soul in particular, is formed to receive in fulness of the Divine fulness, and is therefore formed into the Divine image and likeness. Nor is this a matter alone or principally of form, but primarily of life and use. It would have been impossible, then, for Swedenborg to have gained a thorough understanding of the life and order of heaven, or even of the individual soul, without the preparation provided for him in the thorough study of the human body.

Closely and appropriately following this work on the Divine Love and Wisdom, in 1764, came another small book called *Angelic Wisdom Concerning the Divine Providence*. The two works together furnish just the help needed for entering rationally into the mysteries of faith.

Of the Divine Providence we learn that it is the government of the Divine Love and Divine Wisdom of the Lord, regarding what is infinite and eternal, and temporal things only so far as they agree with the eternal, and having for its end a heaven from the human race. For heaven is conjunction with the Lord, and the more nearly man is conjoined to the Lord, the wiser he becomes, the happier he becomes, and the more distinctly does he appear to himself as his own, at the same time that he the more plainly perceives that he is the Lord's. According to the laws of the Divine Providence, man is to act from freedom according to reason, and should as of himself remove the evils in the external man, whereat the Lord can remove them in the internal, and then again in the external. Man is not to be compelled by external means to think and will religious things, but should lead and compel himself. Man is led and

taught by the Lord from heaven, through the Word, doctrine, and preachings from it, and this in all appearance as of himself. Man does not perceive and feel anything of the operation of the Divine Providence, but yet should know and acknowledge it. The laws of permission are also laws of Providence, evils being permitted for the sake of the end of salvation. The Divine Providence is equally with the evil as with the good, every man being predestinated to heaven and not to hell, and having the opportunity provided by which he may be saved if he will, but no one being compelled against his will. For "the Lord cannot act contrary to the laws of the Divine Providence, because to act contrary to them would be to act contrary to His Divine Love and contrary to His Divine Wisdom, thus contrary to Himself."

All these points and many others are amply shown by argument and illustration. As a specimen of the manner of treatment we will give a paragraph or two :—

"That no one can think from himself, but from the Lord, all the angels of heaven confess ; but that no one can think from any other than from himself, all the spirits of hell say : yet it has been many times shown to the latter that not one of them thinks from himself, nor can ; but that the thought flows in. It was in vain ; they were unwilling to receive it. Experience however will teach, first, that all of thought and affection, even with the spirits of hell, flows in from heaven ; but that good flowing in is there turned into evil, and truth into falsity,—thus all into their opposite. This was shown in this way : there was let down from heaven a truth from the Word, which was received in hell by those who were above, and by them let down into the lower parts, even to the lowest ; and on the way it was successively turned into falsity, and at length into the falsity altogether opposite to the truth. They with whom it was changed thought the falsity from themselves, and did not know otherwise ; when yet it was a truth from heaven thus falsified and perverted on the way while flowing down to the lowest hell. . . .

“When it was given me by the Lord to speak with spirits and angels, this mystery was immediately disclosed to me ; for it was said to me from heaven that I believed, like others, that I thought and willed of myself, when yet nothing was from myself ; but whatever was good was from the Lord, and whatever evil, from hell. That it was so was also shown to the life by various thoughts and affections induced upon me, and it was gradually given me to perceive and feel it. Wherefore afterwards, as soon as any evil glided into the will, or any falsity into the understanding, I searched whence it was and it was disclosed to me ; and it was also given me to speak with those from whom it came, and to confute them, and to compel them to recede, and thus to take back their evil and falsity and retain it with themselves, and not infuse any such thing into my thought any more. This has been done a thousand times, and I have remained in this state now for many years, and still remain in it. And yet I seem to myself to think and will of myself, like others, with no difference ; for it is of the Providence of the Lord that it should appear so to every one.” (D. P. 288, 290.)

“*Every man was created that he might come into heaven:* this is the end of creation. But that all do not come into heaven is because they imbibe the delights of hell opposite to the blessedness of heaven ; and they who are not in the blessedness of heaven cannot enter heaven, for they do not endure it. It is denied to no one who comes into the spiritual world, to ascend into heaven ; but when he who is in the delight of hell comes thither, he palpitates at heart, is troubled in breathing, his life begins to fail, he is pained, is tortured, and rolls himself about like a serpent brought to the fire. This is so because opposite acts against opposite. But still, because they were born men, and are thereby in the faculty of thinking and willing, and thence in the faculty of speaking and acting, they cannot die. Yet, because they cannot live with any others than with those who are in like delight of life with their own, they are sent back to them ; thus they who

are in the delights of evil to their own, and they who are in the delights of good to their own. Yea, it is given to every one to be in the delight of his evil, provided he does not infest those who are in the delight of good; but because evil cannot do otherwise than infest good,—for in evil there is hatred against good,—therefore, lest they should bring harm, the evil are removed and cast down into their places in hell, where their delight is turned into misery. But this does not prevent that man should be from creation and should be born such that he can come into heaven: for every one who dies an infant comes into heaven, is educated and instructed there, as a man in the world, and by the affection of good and truth is imbued with wisdom, and becomes an angel. In like manner might a man who is educated and instructed in the world, for the like is in him as in an infant. But that this does not take place with many in the world is because they love the first degree of their life, which is called the natural, and do not wish to recede from it and become spiritual. And the natural degree of life, viewed in itself, loves nothing but itself and the world, for it coheres to the senses of the body, which are also prominent in the world; but the spiritual degree of life, viewed in itself, loves the Lord and heaven, and also itself and the world,—yet God and heaven as superior, principal, and ruling, and itself and the world as inferior, instrumental, and serving.” (D. P. 324.)

From 1764 to 1766 Swedenborg was employed in writing and publishing a new explication of the Apocalypse, with the title of *The Apocalypse Revealed*. *The Apocalypse Explained* had been written about the time of the spiritual fulfilment of the events foretold. It is not improbable that its immediate use was the establishment of the doctrines involved, as a means for the execution of the judgment, by its exhaustive citation and comparison of parallel passages from the Word. This work being accomplished, the explication was suspended, as we have seen, in the nineteenth chapter; and when it was resumed, in *The Apocalypse Revealed*, it was recommenced

from the beginning, with less copious citation of proof, and with more particular application to the New Church about to be established on earth.

The Apocalypse had been a sealed book. Many attempts had been made to trace its predictions in the historical events of the Christian Church. Many writers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, had concluded that the measure of the Church's iniquity was full, and that her day of judgment was at hand. Many events seemed the beginning of the end. But while all were looking for a visible judgment on earth, Swedenborg published his account of its already taking place in the other world, and of the commencement that was being made of its gradual accomplishment among men. For it appears that the vision seen by John represented both what was to take place, at the end of the Church, in the spiritual world, and what is to take place by slow degrees in the Church on earth.

John represents those who are in the good of life, from faith in the Lord, who remain through the desolation of the Church, and who first become aware of their Lord's coming. The Lord's coming in the clouds and appearing in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, represents His manifestation as the bearer of all light in the obscurity of the letter of His Word. John's falling at His feet as dead is the prostration of self and deep humility of heart with which alone the Lord is perceived. The seven churches are the members of the Christian Church in their various states, more or less salvable. What was seen through the door in heaven, chap. iv., was the ordering of all things in preparation for the judgment. The recognition of the Lamb as the only one who could open the Book was the acknowledgment that the Lord alone in His humanity can unfold His Word and judge thereby His people. By those who sat on horses of different colors are meant the various states of understanding of the Word. The souls under the altar are those who have lived a good life in the fear of the Lord, and have been oppressed by the rulers

of the Church, but have been preserved by the Divine care. The rolling away of heaven as a scroll is the dissolution of the fictitious heavens which pretended Christians had formed for themselves, as soon as their interiors were disclosed by the light of the Lord's coming. The hundred and forty and four thousand are they of the Church of every kind, whose interiors are good and marked with the Lord's name. The woes follow the exploration of the states of those who rely on faith alone. The woman clothed with the sun signifies the New Church that is to come, and the man-child the doctrine of that Church, opposed frantically by the dragon, the doctrine of faith alone. The ruling of the nations by the man-child with a rod of iron, represents the power of the new doctrine by the letter of the Word, from which it is drawn, and by rational argument from the light of nature, with which it is confirmed ; but this needs concealment and protection for a time. The war in heaven is the battle with those who are in faith alone, driving them out of their fictitious heavens. The Lamb on Mount Zion with the hundred and forty and four thousand signifies the Lord in the midst of the new heaven, now forming, of those Christians who could be saved by their acknowledgment of the Divine Humanity. The first effect of His sending forth His Gospel anew to the earth is the downfall of Babylon, the Roman Catholic religion ; and then comes the torment of those who worship the beast, who are fixed in faith alone. The eager desire of the heavens that the direful state on earth should be ended, is expressed by the cry to the Lord that He should thrust in His sharp sickle. The reaping and pressing signify exploration. The golden vials full of the wrath of God are the holy good and truth of heaven flowing in and making the evil of the Church manifest. The exhibition of Babylon as a harlot reveals the state of those, especially of the Romish Church, who are in the lust of dominion by means of the Word. The beast is the Word itself put to this degraded use. The ten horns that hate the woman and destroy her are truths of the Word among Pro-

testants that destroy the power of Rome : lamentation follows of all who have sought their gain in her, and glorification in heaven. The coming Church in genuine truth is described as the wife in fine linen ; and again the doctrine of this Church is described as the Holy City, descending from God out of heaven, into which there shall enter nothing that defileth nor that maketh a lie, but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

This is a scanty outline of the explication which fills three volumes. At the end of each chapter is a description of what the author was permitted to see taking place in the fulfilment of the Apocalypse, of which the following from the close of the explanation of the eleventh chapter will serve as a specimen :—

“I was once seized suddenly with a disease that seemed to threaten my life. I suffered excruciating pain all over my head ; a pestilent smoke ascended from that Jerusalem [in the world of spirits] which is called Sodom and Egypt ; half dead with the severity of my sufferings, I expected every moment would be my last. Thus I lay in my bed three days and a half ; my spirit was reduced to this state, and my body in consequence. And then I heard the voices of persons about me, saying, ‘Lo, he who preached repentance for the remission of sins, and the man Christ alone, lies dead in the streets of our city.’ And they asked some of the clergy whether he was worthy of burial ; who answered, ‘No, let him lie to be looked at.’ And they passed to and fro, and mocked. All this befell me, of a truth, when I was writing the explanation of this chapter of the Apocalypse. Then were heard many shocking speeches of scoffers who said, ‘How can repentance be performed without faith ? And how can the man Christ be adored as God ? Since we are saved of free grace without any merit of our own, what need is there of any faith but this,—that God the Father sent the Son to take away the curse of the law, to impute his merit to us, and so to justify us in His sight, and absolve us from our sins

by the declaration of a priest, and then give the Holy Ghost to operate all good in us? Are not these doctrines agreeable to Scripture, and consistent with reason also?' All this the crowd who stood by agreed to and applauded. I heard what passed without the power of replying, being almost dead; but after three days and a half my spirit recovered, and being in the spirit I left the street and went into the city, and said again, 'Do the work of repentance and believe in Christ, and your sins will be remitted and ye will be saved; but otherwise ye will perish. Did not the Lord Himself preach repentance for the remission of sins, and that men should believe in Him? Did not He enjoin His disciples to preach the same? Is not a full and fatal security of life the sure consequence of this dogma of your faith?' But they replied, 'What idle talk! Has not the Son made satisfaction? And does not the Father impute it to us, and justify us who have believed in it? Thus are we led by the spirit of grace; how then can sin have place in us, and what power has death over us? Do you comprehend this Gospel, thou preacher of sin and repentance?' At that instant a voice was heard from heaven, saying, 'What is the faith of an impenitent man but a dead faith? The end is come, the end is come upon you that are secure, unblamable in your own eyes, justified in your own faith, ye devils.' And suddenly a deep gulf was opened in the midst of the city, which spread itself far and wide: and the houses fell one upon another and were swallowed up; and presently water began to bubble up from the wide whirlpool, and overflowed the waste.

"When they were thus overwhelmed and, to appearance, drowned, I was desirous to know their condition in the deep; and a voice from heaven said to me, 'Thou shalt see and hear.' And straightway the waters in which they seemed to be drowned, disappeared; for waters in the spiritual world are correspondences, and hence appear to surround those who are in falses. Then they appeared to me in a sandy place, where there were large heaps of stones, amongst which

they were running, and lamenting that they were cast out of their great city; and they lifted up their voices and cried, 'Why has all this befallen us? Are we not by our faith clean, pure, just, and holy? . . . Are we not reconciled, propitiated, expiated, and thus absolved, washed, and cleansed from sins? And is not the curse of the law taken away by Christ? Why then are we cast down here as the damned? We have been told by a presumptuous preacher of sin in our great city, "Believe in Christ and repent." But have we not believed in Christ while we believed in his merit? And have we not done the work of repentance while we confessed ourselves sinners? Why then has all this befallen us?' But immediately a voice from one side said to them, 'Do you know any one sin that is in you? Have you ever examined yourselves? Have you in consequence shunned any evil as a sin against God? For he who does not shun sin, remains in it; and is not sin the Devil? Ye are therefore of the class of whom the Lord said, Then shall ye begin to say, 'We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets;' but He shall say, 'I tell you I know you not, whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.' . . . Depart ye, therefore, every one to his own place; you see the openings into those caverns; enter, and there work shall be given each of you to do, and afterwards food according to your work; but should you refuse at present to enter, the demands of hunger will speedily compel you.'" (A. R. 531.)

In the years 1766 and 1767 Swedenborg wrote much on the Divine institution of marriage. From what was written he selected and published in 1768 *The Delights of Wisdom Concerning Conjugial*¹ *Love; followed by The Pleasures of Insanity Concerning Scortatory Love*. To this work, first of

¹ The love portrayed by Swedenborg under this title is of an interior nature, effecting the union of souls. This may be the reason why he chose the poetic word used by Ovid, *conjugalitis*, instead of the more common *conjugalis*. With the feeling that such a distinction ought to be preserved, his translators have kept it in "conjugal," which may now be said to have passed into our language.

his doctrinal or theological works, he attached his name,—“By Emanuel Swedenborg, of Sweden.” Perhaps he felt more personal responsibility for its teachings, and probably he saw the need that all these works should be grouped together under his name. Accordingly he appends a list of the works hitherto published, and also announces a complete statement of “the Doctrine of the New Church predicted by the Lord in the Apocalypse” as to be published within two years. (Original edition, p. 328.)

This work on Conjugal Love was the first to gain many readers, and was widely circulated. Eminent clergymen, and unprejudiced spiritual minds generally, have recognized its elevating power and commended its study; but it is rightly appreciated by those only who love to find in every blessing that which is spiritual and from the Lord. To such it is of highest delight to learn that the love which is the soul of marriage descends from the union of the Divine Love with the Divine Wisdom, and is as eternal as the human soul; to gain an insight into the lovely mysteries of the union of affection and thought, of good and truth; and to be told of the peace and happiness that attend the marriage union, not made by man but given by the Lord, among the angels in heaven.

He who loves to learn of the purity and sanctity of marriage may find in this book all that he seeks. And yet to many it has been a stumbling-block, for the reason that in the latter part discrimination is made as to the degree of wrong in departures from the order of marriage. Some of these errors are regarded as less harmful than others, and not unpardonable under circumstances of apparent necessity,—though it is expressly stated that these things are not said to those who are able to restrain their lust, nor to those who are blessed with marriage. No one can be troubled by the charity here shown for the unfortunate, unless with the fear that it may be abused, to make inexcusable wrong venial.

This result would be most unfortunate, but could hardly

have been prevented. The charity, the mercy of the Divine Providence in discriminating as to the degree of guilt in our various departures from rectitude, in making us suffer less for the lighter than we do for the more grievous, is abused in the same way. No dealings with sinners can be Christian that are not considerate and discriminating. This treatise of Swedenborg did not purport to treat, like his other works, of theology, doctrine, drawn from the Word by means of light given from the Lord, "but chiefly of morals," that is, of the manners and duties of men, with illustration from the light of heaven. Naturally the immediate application of the second part was to the society of Europe at the time it was written ; and for this state of society, even in its concessions to human weakness, it held up an advanced though not unapproachable standard.¹

It would be a total misapprehension and abuse to take any advantage of such humane concession, for the lowering of the standard in our own more favored, more Puritan country and age. The proper use to us of the discussion of the sins against the true marriage relation is, on the one hand, to put us on our guard against the sinfulness of our human nature ; and on the other to inspire us with discriminating charity and mercy in our judgment of those less fortunate in their home, their time, or their circumstances. Many things have been permitted of the Divine Providence on account of the hardness of our hearts, which yet from the beginning were not so. Each new revelation of the Divine order requires a higher degree of purity, a nearer approach to the Divine perfection ; and to this rule the teachings given through Swedenborg in regard to marriage form no exception. Of the heavenly idea of conjugal love taught in the book on that subject, the following passage will give some impression :—

"There is given love truly conjugal, which at this day

¹ It is not pleasant to know, but is a help in understanding the conditions under which the book was written, that even a century later the proportion of legitimate children born in Stockholm was but five in seven.

is so rare that it is not known what it is, and scarce that it exists. . . . No others come into this love and can be in it but those who come to the Lord and love the truths of the Church and do its good works. . . . That no others can be in love truly conjugal but they who receive it from the Lord, who are those that come directly to Him and live the life of the Church from Himself, is because this love, considered in its origin and its correspondence, is heavenly, spiritual, holy, pure, and clean, above every love which is with the angels of heaven and the men of the Church. And these its attributes cannot be given but to those who are conjoined to the Lord, and from Him consociated with the angels of heaven ; for these shun loves outside of marriage, which are conjunctions with others than their own proper consorts, as the loss of the soul and the lakes of hell ; and in proportion as consorts shun such conjunctions, even as to lusts of the will and intentions, so far love truly conjugal is purified with them, and becomes successively spiritual, first while they live on earth, and afterwards in heaven. Neither with men nor with angels can any love be pure, consequently neither can this love ; but because the intention which is of the will is primarily regarded by the Lord, therefore, so far as man is in this intention and perseveres in it, so far he is initiated and successively advances into its purity and sanctity. . . . That they come into this love and can be in it who love the truths of the Church and do its good works, is because no others are received of the Lord ; for these are in conjunction with Himself, and thence can be held in that love from Himself." (C. L. 57-72.)

After publishing this work on Conjugal Love, Swedenborg entered on the task of presenting in complete form the Doctrine of the New Church, as already promised. But he says, "As this is the work of several years, I have deemed it useful to publish meanwhile a sort of outline of it, in order that a general idea of that Church and its Doctrine may first be obtained ; for when the generals precede, all the particulars as

they exist in the whole breadth can appear in light, since they enter into the general, as homogeneous things into their receptacles." This is from the preface to *A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse*, "by Emanuel Swedenborg, of Sweden," published in Latin in a thin quarto in 1769, and at the same time also in English. Of this little book the author says, in a letter to Dr. Beyer,—

"This treatise was sent by me to all the clergy in Holland, and will come into the hands of the most eminent in Germany. I have been informed that they have attentively perused it, and that some have already discovered the truth, while others do not know which way to turn; for what is written therein is sufficient to convince any one that the above-mentioned doctrine [justification by faith alone] is the cause of our having at the present day no theology in Christendom." On the reverse of the titlepage are the words, in Latin: "I, John, saw the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. . . . And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold I make all things new. And He said unto me, Write; for these words are true and faithful." (Rev. xxi. 2, 5.)

At the beginning, as in *The Apocalypse Revealed*, the author presents the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church from the decrees of the Council of Trent, and those of the Protestant Churches from the *Formula Concordiæ*. He next shows briefly that all the Protestant Churches, though differing in some matters, agree in the doctrines of the trinity of persons, of original sin, of the imputation of the merit of Christ, and of justification by faith alone; that in these they have only adopted the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, with the change—as Luther confessed, for the sake of distinction—of separating charity and good works from faith, and yet adding good works, as in a passive subject, while the Catholics add them as in an active subject; that

the whole theology of the day was founded on the idea of three Gods, arising from that of a trinity of persons, and that the dogmas are seen to be erroneous as soon as the idea of three persons is rejected and the idea of One God, in whom is a Divine Trinity, is received in its place ; that then faith really saving, which rests in one God, united with good works, is acknowledged and received ; and that this faith is in God the Saviour Jesus Christ, and in its simple form is as follows :

1. That there is one God, in whom is a Divine Trinity, and that He is the Lord Jesus Christ.

2. That saving faith is to believe in Him.

3. That evils are to be shunned because they are of the Devil and from the Devil.

4. That good works are to be done because they are of God and from God.

5. And that these things are to be done by man as by himself, but that it is to be believed that they are done by the Lord with him and through him.

Such in simple form is the pure, rational, Scriptural doctrine, descending from God out of His New Heaven for His New Church to be established on earth. To appreciate its simplicity, its beauty, its efficacy, its divinity, one needs to have been led up to it, as Swedenborg was led, step by step, out of the tangle and fog of the old creeds of human origin, and then to see it, as he saw it, descending from God out of heaven. No wonder that heaven rejoiced when it was published on earth, appearing to Swedenborg rose-colored and wreathed with roses, and that *Adventus Domini*, the Coming of the Lord, was written with his own hand on more than one copy of the book.

After the enunciation of the Doctrine, follows an elucidation of points in which the doctrines of the day are at variance with it. Then it is shown that their darkness is the darkening of the sun foretold in Matthew ; that those in faith alone are described by the goats in Matthew, and by the dragon and other signs in the Apocalypse ; that unless a

New Church should be established, none could be saved ; that the rejection of the old dogmas and the reception of the new faith is what is meant by all things being made new ; that the New Church to be established by the Lord is the New Jerusalem, and the Bride, the Lamb's Wife ; that the new faith cannot make one with the old, but there will be collision ; that at present the Roman Catholics in general know nothing about their dogmas, these being hidden under their forms of worship, and so far as they approach the Lord as their Saviour can come into the faith of the New Church more easily than the Reformed. In conclusion, this Brief Exposition gives "by way of Appendix" what also forms the introduction to the full work contemplated, *The True Christian Religion*, a further statement of "The Faith of the New Heaven and the New Church" in universal and in particular form, as follows :—

THE FAITH OF THE NEW HEAVEN AND THE NEW CHURCH.

"1. THE FAITH, in a universal and a particular form, is prefixed, that it may be as a face before the work which follows ; and as a gate, through which entrance is made into a temple ; and a summary, in which are contained in their measure the particulars which follow. It is said the 'Faith of the New Heaven and the New Church,' because heaven where angels are and the Church in which men are act as one, as the internal and the external with man. Thence it is that the man of the Church who is in the good of love from the truths of faith, and in the truths of faith from the good of love, is as to the interiors of his mind an angel of heaven ; wherefore also, after death, he comes into heaven and there enjoys happiness according to the state of their conjunction. It is to be known that in the New Heaven, which is being established at this day by the Lord, there is this Faith as its face, gate, and summary.

"2. THE FAITH OF THE NEW HEAVEN AND THE NEW CHURCH IN UNIVERSAL FORM is this : That the Lord from

eternity, who is Jehovah, came into the world that He might subjugate the hells and glorify His human ; and that without this no one of mortals could be saved ; and that they are saved who believe in Him.

“It is said ‘in universal form’ because this is the universal of faith, and the universal of faith is what must be in all and each of the particulars. It is a universal of faith that God is One in essence and in person, in whom is a Divine Trinity, and that the Lord God the Saviour Jesus Christ is He. It is a universal of faith that no one of mortals could be saved, unless the Lord had come into the world. It is a universal of faith that He came into the world that He might remove hell from man, and that He did remove it by combats against it and by victories over it : thus He subjugated it and reduced it to order and under obedience to Himself. It is a universal of faith that He came into the world that He might glorify His Human which He took upon Himself in the world, that is, might unite it to the Divine from which [He came] ; thus He holds hell in order and under obedience to Himself. Since this could not be done except by temptations admitted into His Human, even to the last, and the last was the passion of the cross, therefore He underwent that. These are the universals of faith concerning the Lord.

“A universal of faith on the part of man is, that he believe in the Lord ; for by believing in Him there is effected conjunction with Him, by which is salvation. To believe in Him is to have confidence that He will save ; and because no one can have this confidence, except he who lives well, therefore this also is meant by believing in Him. This the Lord also says, in John : *This is the will of the Father, that every one who believeth in the Son may have eternal life* (vi. 40) ; and in another place, *He who believeth in the Son hath eternal life ; but he who believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him* (iii. 36).

“3. THE FAITH OF THE NEW HEAVEN AND THE NEW CHURCH IN PARTICULAR FORM is this : That Jehovah God is

Love Itself and Wisdom Itself, or that He is Good Itself and Truth Itself, and that He Himself descended as to the Divine Truth which is the Word and which was God with God, and assumed the Human, for the sake of the end that He might reduce into order all things which were in heaven and all things which were in hell and all things which were in the Church : since at that time the power of hell prevailed over the power of heaven, and on the earth the power of evil over the power of good, and thereby total damnation stood before the door and threatened. This impending damnation Jehovah God took away by means of His Human, which was the Divine Truth, and thus redeemed angels and men. And afterwards in His Human He united the Divine Truth to the Divine Good, or the Divine Wisdom to the Divine Love, and thus returned into His Divine in which He was from eternity, together with and in His glorified Human. These things are meant by this passage in John,—*The Word was with God and God was the Word; and the Word became flesh* (i. 1, 14); and in the same,—*I went forth from the Father and came into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father* (xvi. 28); and also by this,—*We know that the Son of God hath come and given us understanding that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, in His Son Jesus Christ; this is the true God and eternal life* (1 John v. 20). From these things it is evident that without the coming of the Lord into the world no one could be saved. The like is the case to-day; wherefore, unless the Lord come again into the world in the Divine Truth, which is the Word, no one can be saved.

“The particulars of faith on the part of man are : First, That God is One, in whom is a Divine Trinity, and that He is the Lord God the Saviour Jesus Christ. Second, That saving faith is to believe in Him. Third, That evil deeds are not to be done, because they are of the Devil and from the Devil. Fourth, That good works are to be done, because they are of God and from God. Fifth, And that these are to

be done by man as by himself ; but that it is to be believed that they are done by the Lord with him and through him. The first two are of faith, the last two are of charity ; and the fifth is of the conjunction of charity and faith, thus of the Lord and man."

A century ago, when first published, this doctrine would have been pronounced heretical, not only in the Roman Catholic Church, but in all of the Evangelical Churches of Christendom. At the present day there may be found eminent preachers in every Evangelical Church who will declare that this doctrine is their own, and who do not hesitate to preach it, according to their understanding of it, from their pulpits. We may go farther : there is no eminent advanced theologian of the day whose positions are not approximating to those of the New Church, as laid down by Swedenborg. In other words, the whole progress of religious thought since Swedenborg's time has been in the direction of the standards raised by him. This is palpably true in regard to the Trinity, Free-will, Salvation, and the Life after death. The one great subject on which little advance is made, is the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. As to this, a good degree of preparation is being made in the recognition of the whole as of one plan, with spiritual application of every part to all men.¹ But the means of interpretation used by Swedenborg, the correspondence of all worldly things with spiritual things, can hardly be known, and cannot be used to good purpose, except through such revelation as was given to him, and by him to the world.

After the "Brief Exposition" a few little tracts were published, partly in reply to letters, on doctrinal points : "On the Intercourse of the Soul and Body ;" "An Answer to a Letter written to me by a Friend" [Rev. Thomas Hartley] ; "Answers to Nine Questions proposed by Thomas Hartley to Emanuel Swedenborg." The last-named was first printed by Mr. Robert Hindmarsh in 1785, though written in the year

¹ Appendix III.

the others were printed, 1769. The same year was written *The Canons of the New Church, or the Entire Theology of the New Church*. This small work was not published by the author, but served him as the basis or first draught of the more important work that was to follow. Its introduction, however, is very suitable for us in this place : —

“The New Church could not be instituted before the last judgment had been accomplished, because otherwise holy things would have been profaned. It was promised that the spiritual sense of the Word would then be disclosed, and the coming of the Lord, who is the Word, would take place. The reason why but few at the present day have religion is : First, because it is not known that the Lord is the Only God who rules heaven and earth ; and thus that He is God in person and in essence, in whom is a Trinity : when yet the whole of religion is based on the knowledge of God, and on His adoration and worship. Second, because it is not known that faith is nothing else but truth ; and because it is not known whether that which is called faith is truth, or not. Third, because it is not known what charity is, nor consequently what good and evil are. Fourth, because it is not known what eternal life is. In proportion as the truths of life are made matters of life, in the same proportion the truths of faith become matters of faith ; and it is not possible for them to become such in any other way. Some things are matters of knowledge and not of faith.”

In 1771 Swedenborg completed and published his promised crowning work, as in fact it was the last year of his life. Its title translated is *The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church foretold by the Lord in Daniel, chap. vii. 13, 14, and in the Apocalypse, chap. xxi. 1, 2*. “By Emanuel Swedenborg, Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.” The author had a desire to publish it at Paris, but obtaining permission from the censor only on condition that it should bear the false imprint of London or Amster-

dam, he scorned the evasion and published it at Amsterdam.¹ The original edition is in one quarto volume. The English editions have from one to three volumes. To give a full idea of the contents would exceed our limits. Whoever would know in full what the doctrines of the New Church really are should read the book. Their summary, contained in the Introduction, we have already given. The subjects of the chapters are as follows:—

1. God, the Creator. 2. The Lord, the Redeemer. 3. The Holy Spirit, and The Divine Operation. 4. The Sacred Scripture, or Word of the Lord. 5. The Catechism or Decalogue explained as to its external and internal sense. 6. Faith. 7. Charity, or Love to the Neighbor; and Good Works. 8. Free Agency. 9. Repentance. 10. Reformation and Regeneration. 11. Imputation. 12. Baptism. 13. The Holy Supper. 14. The Consummation of the Age; the Coming of the Lord; and the New Church.

At the close of the chapters "Memorable Relations" are added, illustrating the subject matter by things heard and seen in the other world, as in *The Apocalypse Revealed* and *Conjugal Love*. Indeed some of the relations are the same as before given in those works, and much of the other material of the work is the same as had been previously printed in smaller works, while the whole arrangement and the greater part of the matter are new.

In style we notice an increased maturity and clearness of expression, a fondness for practical illustration, and an overflowing goodness of heart that would fain impress upon his readers what is necessary for their salvation, thus endearing the book to all who accept its doctrine.

As to the style of Swedenborg's theological works, however, there should perhaps be a word said for the benefit of unac-

¹ Singularly, an aged Paris bookseller told the Rev. J. H. Smithson, in 1826, that some fifty years before, he had met with *The True Christian Religion*, and thinking it a very curious book had sent to Amsterdam and bought up all the copies he could find. So in fact the work had always been for sale in Paris, and a few copies were still on hand. *English Ed. J.F.I. Tafel's Documents*, 115.

customed ears, to whom it is strange. A part of the awkwardness in English has been due to the unskilfulness of translators. But with utmost skill it is impossible to render Swedenborg's language into familiar English, without loss of meaning. The simple reason is that his meaning, being spiritual and reaching beyond time and space, can be adequately expressed only by abstract terms of indefinite application ; in short by adjectives, and these often of new coinage or with new meaning. This use of the Latin language is not awkward, nor new. The mediæval and later philosophers had fitted the language to Swedenborg's hand. But in English the use is new and strange ; and there is no help for it, but to get accustomed to it : then there is no trouble.

One of Swedenborg's oldest living translators, Dr. Wilkin-son, has recently declared that he at first "had the feeling that it would be easy and right to popularize him somewhat, and to melt down his *Proprium* and his *Scientifics*, his *Goods* and *Truths* and *Uses*, and many other of his terms." But at last, he says, he learned to come close to his author's terms, and as far as possible get into the marrow of them ; and then he did not want to melt them down, but felt sure "that they are a genuine coinage which the reader, when he learns it, will never wish to see defaced in any the least lineament, lest a value which is priceless be lost or altered thereby. . . . Furthermore, doctrinal statements involve the use of terms, indeed, technical terms ; and where the teaching, the truths, are new to the mind, the creation of new technical terms to express them. Accordingly, Swedenborg's works are technical so far as it is necessary, and the terms he employs are the ultimate basis of his doctrines. . . . No man has brought his communication of ideas to greater definition. Coleridge said to the late Mr. Charles Augustus Tulk, that were he writing a treatise on logic, he should select instances from Swedenborg's works, so perfect did he regard them as chains of reasoning. But Swedenborg has a merit which transcends logic. The fountains and principles from which the stream flows are

divinely true ; and they are signalized by adequate terms which contain them, sum them up, and send them forth.”¹

As *The True Christian Religion* was the last treatise completed by Swedenborg, this is the fitting place to review the nature of his mission. The mission was to unfold the interior senses of the Word and draw from it true doctrine, making its light to appear before men, whereby they might see in it, as in the clouds of heaven, the face of their Lord Jesus Christ. This enlightenment of minds was to be the intellectual part of the Lord's promised second coming, the voluntary part being the acceptance in the heart of His Spirit ; the one being the means and complement of the other. The enlightenment, as well as the grace of heart, is from the Lord alone ; but since, as we have seen (p. 246), the degree of enlightenment depends also on the knowledge of both spiritual and natural things stored in the mind, together with the development of the power of reason, Swedenborg was prepared intellectually for his work, first, by vast training and acquirements in the knowledge and philosophic discussion of natural things, and second, by unprecedented experience of spiritual things. Nor perhaps was the experience of the heart less remarkable, whereby it was released from the bonds of self and selfish spiritual association. The preparation was, indeed, such that Swedenborg would certainly have soon entered upon the very work designed for him, of apparently his own determination, if the Lord had not revealed to him that the preparation and the purpose were His, and that the work must be done in His name, with Him alone for guide. Thus armed and protected, it was permitted Swedenborg to see plainly the spirits and angels about him and to whom he came, and to learn from them innumerable things about their world, which served him as aids in receiving enlightenment from the Lord in His Word. Innumerable things he was permitted to relate for

¹ Address at the Seventy-second Anniversary of the Swedenborg Society : London, 1882.

the use of men ; but this was wholly subsidiary to the main purpose, of unfolding the interiors of the Word.

The time appointed for this new revelation of the Lord in His Word was that when on earth His Church, relying on and perverting the literal sense, had brought its usefulness about to an end ; when the newly-developed reason had asserted its own rights and had begun, on the one hand, to declare that there is no God, and on the other, to admit its own inability to discover what the heart knew to exist ; when, by aid of the press and of instruments of precision, both the Gospel and numerous scientific facts were in the hands of the people, giving a groundwork of moral and mental intelligence : and lastly when, as we learn from Swedenborg, the world of spirits, with its hordes of pretended but lying and deceitful Christians, was pressing hard upon heaven and was ripe for judgment. The publication on earth of the interior real meaning of the Word—not in its fulness, for that is impossible, but in so much as an enlightened man could perceive and express in his own language—was the ultimate basis, or fulcrum, by which it could be taught and enforced in the world of spirits, and was in so far a means by which the judgment there was effected. At the same time the true doctrine thus drawn from the Word—that which accords with the interior heavenly sense—was revealed as the doctrine for the New Church on earth, as it is that of the New Heaven.

The mere annunciation, however, of the doctrine of the New Church, in formula, was not enough. This Church is not to be a Church of forms or of creeds, but a Church for the new age of the world, the mature age, when the matters of faith are to be rationally understood, to be found in consonance with sound philosophy, and to be supported and illustrated by all things in heaven and earth.

“In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the

Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land ; whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless saying, Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel Mine inheritance." (Isaiah xix. 23-25.)

Egypt is the scientific mind, Assyria is the rational mind, and Israel is the spiritual mind. In the Church that is to be, the scientific mind will lead the way up into the rational mind, and the rational mind into the spiritual mind ; the scientific and the rational will be recognized in their place and use by the spiritual mind, and the spiritual mind will be recognized by the others as the inheritance of the Lord. The scientific mind has reached a high pitch of development. The rational mind is not far behind. The development of these is effected as of the man's own power in the light of nature, without recognized Divine guidance. But the light of the spiritual mind is Divine light itself, which cannot enter except in humility of heart with acknowledgment of its source. Its doctrine, though it be gathered with laborious scientific and rational research from the Word of God, is yet seen to be not the mind's own, but given it from God out of heaven.

It was with this full acknowledgment, this clear vision, that Swedenborg attached to the titlepage of his Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church the verse of the Apocalypse already quoted, and that to the same verse he attached his own name in the autograph of which we are enabled to present a fac-simile.¹

¹ The original is possessed by Mr. Horace P. Chandler of Boston. Probably it was a memento to a friend, perhaps on the fly-leaf of a book. The date is but a year and a half before Swedenborg's death, and the hand is feebler than that of an earlier date. On the same day he wrote to Dr. Beyer, bidding him farewell, as he was about leaving Stockholm for Amsterdam to publish *The True Christian Religion*.

Vidi: lectam Sacram Micrologiam novam descendente a Do
e. Cato, paratam fidei specimen ornatum maribus, Apoc. XII. 2.
Holm. 2. 3. Jul. 1770

Chr. Swedborg



CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION OF LIFE.—FRIENDS OF LATER YEARS.

IN the few months of life remaining after this last work was published, Swedenborg went on writing and preparing materials for an Appendix, or *Coronis*, treating of the four Churches which had already existed on earth, and of the New Church now to be established. But his work in this world was more nearly completed than he knew. Born in 1688, he was now in his eighty-fourth year. Though of robust constitution and extremely simple habits, his frame could not last always. He had exhausted the measure of his days in completing the work given him to do in this world,—a work which in its spiritual part belonged not less to the other. It was no great change for him to close his eyes once more for all time to this world, and to open them for eternity in the world where for twenty-seven years he had been not less at home than here.

It would be very pleasant for us to find in Swedenborg's diaries some account of the spirits and angels with whom he found his permanent home in the other world. In his later years he occasionally speaks of belonging to a heavenly society, while during the earlier period of his spiritual intercourse he appears to have been mostly in a city in the world of spirits answering to Stockholm ;¹ but we do not find anything more definite about the heavenly society. That he was in very different spiritual association from what he was in

¹ *Spiritual Diary*, 5721. That there are cities in the world of spirits answering to the cities of this world, see S. D. 5092-94.

earlier life is plain enough from the tone of his writings, particularly of his letters. The high-spirited, impatient ambition of his youth is gone. In place there is all gentleness and love and trust in the Providence of the Lord, from which it was as evident to his friends that he was in company with angels, as it had been to his father when in infancy they seemed to speak through his mouth. New friends on earth, too, had gathered about him, few but good, attracted by the angelic wisdom that now unmistakably flowed from his tongue and pen. Such a friend was the Rev. Thomas Hartley, a clergyman of the Church of England and rector of Winwick, Northamptonshire. Witness the following letter, written in 1769 :—

*"Most respected and beloved Sir,—*I consider myself most highly favored and I rejoice from my inmost heart in having had the honor, which you lately granted me, of conversing with you; and also in your having been so kind and friendly towards me who am quite unworthy of such a favor. But your charity towards the neighbor, the heavenly benignity shining from your countenance, and your childlike simplicity, devoid of all vain show and egotism, are so great, and the treasure of wisdom possessed by you is so sweetly tempered with gentleness, that it did not inspire in me a feeling of awe, but one of love, which refreshed me in my innermost heart. Believe me, O best of men, that by my intercourse with you I consider myself crowned with more than royal favors; for who among kings, if he is of a sane mind, would not gladly converse with an inhabitant of heaven, while here on earth? But the things which are hidden from the great men upon earth are revealed to the humble.

"In speaking with you every suspicion of flattery must be hushed. For what ground for flattery can there be when I attribute everything in you, however great and extraordinary it may be, to the Lord, and not to yourself, and when I look upon you only as an instrument of His mercy and great kindness? But may I be permitted to offer honor and glory to the instrument,—for this is well-pleasing to the Lord; and may I be permitted to tell you from a heart full of gratitude, that I consider myself thrice blessed that your writings, by the Divine Providence, have fallen into my hands? For from them, as from a living fountain, I have drawn so many things, as well for instruction and edification as for my great delight, and I have been freed by them from so many fears, and from so many errors, doubts, and opinions which held my mind in perplexity and bondage, that I seem to myself

sometimes as if transferred among the angels. May the Lord, the Highest and Best, forbid that I deceive myself with a vain and premature hope; and may He always keep me in a state of humility and repentance, anxious to shun all evil and ready to do all good, so that I may safely and happily reach the goal of our destination in the Lord Jesus Christ!"

The writer goes on to ask a few questions as to doctrinal points, and then begs Swedenborg to give him some statements about himself and his position in his own country, to be used in case of question; and he adds that, should he be in danger of persecution there for his opinions, he will be most welcome in England, where a home with all comforts will be provided for him by Dr. Messiter and himself.

Swedenborg in reply thanked Mr. Hartley for his kindness and friendship, and said,—"The praises with which you overwhelm me, I receive simply as expressions of your love for the truths contained in my writings; and I refer them to the Lord, our Saviour, as their source, from whom is everything true, because He is the Truth Itself (John xiv. 6)." Then giving a brief account of his family and position in Sweden, he concluded as follows:—

"Moreover, all the bishops of my native country, who are ten in number, and also the sixteen senators, and the rest of those highest in office, entertain feelings of affection for me; from their affection they honor me, and I live with them on terms of familiarity, as a friend among friends,—the reason of which is that they know I am in company with angels. Even the King and the Queen and the three princes, their sons, show me great favor. I was invited once by the King and Queen to dine with them at their own table, which honor is generally accorded only to those who are highest in office; subsequently the Crown Prince granted me the same favor. They all desire me to return home; wherefore I am far from apprehending in my own country that persecution which you fear, and against which in your letter you desire in so friendly a manner to provide; and if they choose to persecute me elsewhere, it can do me no harm."

Mr. Hartley remained through life a steadfast friend to Swedenborg, and showed his zeal and ability by translating and prefacing several of his works for the English public. How well suited he was to appreciate the spirit of these works we may judge, not only from his own letters and prefaces, but also from what is said of him in the published diary of religious experience of Samuel Scott, "a distinguished member of the Society of Friends":—

"*Fifth month, 22, 1782.*—At dinner we were unexpectedly visited by our ancient friend, Thomas Hartley; probably for the last time,—he appearing to be much emaciated, and his countenance languid and meagre, but attended with a fresh and lively sense of vital and experimental religion. Retiring with him from some company who were present, he expressed himself in much tenderness of spirit to the following effect: 'O my dear friend! I have lately passed through many fiery trials and deep baptisms, such as I had never before fully experienced: all the secret and concealed sins of my former life, even many which had passed unnoticed, have been brought to light and set in order before me. I have been laid more low than ever, before the throne, and so humbled in a sense of my own nothingness, that I could stoop even to the meanest of my fellow-creatures. But I hope these severe dispensations have been for my further purification and meetness for that rest and glory which will be the fruition of sanctified spirits to all eternity.' In the year 1776 I was introduced to a personal acquaintance with him, by a worthy minister in our own Society, and esteem the same one of the blessings of my advanced years, for which I am accountable to the Author of every good gift. He lived some years in the neighborhood of Hertford and left a sweet savor behind him, both among rich and poor. It was my lot to differ much from him in my natural disposition, and also in some points to which he was much attached; but he sought not so much to promote the sentimental part of religion as the life of righteousness, and the experimental knowledge of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which crucifies the corrupt propensities of fallen nature and produces the fruits of the spirit, which are love, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

"*Eighth month, 25, 1783.*—I received a letter from our dear and worthy friend, Thomas Hartley; who, although aged and infirm, appears to retain a fresh and lively sense of that true and experimental religion which consists, not in the letter, but in the spirit, and of that circumcision which is inward.

"*Twelfth month, 20, 1784.*—This day I was informed of the decease

of my dear and worthy friend, Thomas Hartley, who departed this life the 10th inst. . . . He was a man of unaffected piety, great sincerity, and exquisite sensibility; deeply suffering under a sense of his own defects in particular, and of the depravity of fallen nature in general; following a crucified Saviour in the regeneration, according to his measure: there is abundant cause for a comfortable hope that he now rests from his labors, 'where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.'"

From such a man and friend as this Mr. Hartley, the following sentences addressed to the first translator of *The True Christian Religion*, the Rev. J. Clowes, are of much interest:—

"The great Swedenborg was a man of uncommon humility, and so far from affecting to be the head of a sect that his voluminous writings in divinity continued almost to the end of his life to be anonymous publications; and I have some reason to think that it was owing to my remonstrance with him on this subject that he was induced to prefix his name to this his last work. He was of a catholic spirit and loved all good men in every church, making at the same time all candid allowance for the innocence of involuntary error; but as he found himself obliged to point out the false doctrines in the several churches with an impartial freedom, it must be expected that his writings will meet with opposition from bigots in all churches. . . . Now, that any extraordinary messenger to the world, faithful to his commission in the delivery of Divine Truths, without respect of persons, should meet with opposition, is so far from being any just cause of offence to us, that it should serve to confirm us in the belief of his legation, inasmuch as Divine Truth must ever be contrary to the inclinations, maxims, and pursuits of a degenerate world, the reasonings of which will ever be according to its governing principles; and therefore it was that the essential Truth of God in the person of Christ was to suffer persecution. But wisdom is justified of her children, even such as have their hearts turned towards God; and in respect to such, Truth carries in it native evidence and conviction, so as to supersede the necessity of argument, according to those words of our Lord, 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.'

"Our author ever kept the Holy Scriptures in view; they were his light and guide, his shield and buckler on all occasions; his reasonings are grounded on their authority, and he is abundantly copious in the proofs he draws from them in support of whatever doctrine he advances. On this foundation he builds, and a surer one can no one

lay; he expounds the lively oracles by their harmonizing sense in different parts of them, and opens their spiritual meaning like the scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven; and of this he has in particular given us satisfying evidence in his exposition of the Apocalypse.

"And yet let it be remarked here, that however high he stands in the character of the enlightened divine, however zealous he appeared for Truth and the instruction of his brethren, and, lastly, however self-denying in his own particular case as to gratifications and indulgences, even within the bounds of moderation, yet nothing severe, nothing of the precisian, appeared in him; but, on the contrary, an inward serenity and complacency of mind were manifest in the sweetness of his looks and outward demeanor; and in his writings so far is he from affecting any stoical stiffness or severity, that in several parts of them he allows to Christian liberty its full scope, and nowhere censures social entertainments and amusements properly conducted. . . .

"It may reasonably be supposed that I have weighed the character of our illustrious author in the scale of my best judgment, from the personal knowledge I had of him, from the best information I could procure concerning him, and from a diligent perusal of his writings; and according thereto I have found him to be the sound divine, the good man, the deep philosopher, the universal scholar, and the polite gentleman; and I further believe that he had a high degree of illumination from the Spirit of God, was commissioned by Him as an extraordinary messenger to the world, and had communication with angels and the spiritual world beyond any since the time of the apostles."

Together with Mr. Hartley should be mentioned the friend who joined with him in offering to provide Swedenborg a home in England,—Dr. H. Messiter, "an eminent physician," according to Mr. Hartley, living at Fulham, Middlesex. He is the one to whom Mr. Hartley refers when he says of his acquaintance with Swedenborg,—"I have conversed with him at different times, and in company with a gentleman of a learned profession and of extensive intellectual abilities: we have had a confirmation of these things from his own mouth, and have received his testimony, and do both of us consider this our acquaintance with the author and his writings among the greatest blessings of our lives."

Swedenborg's confidence in Dr. Messiter is shown by his requesting him to send some of his theological works to the Professors of Divinity in the Scottish universities. In

Dr. Messiter's letter "to the Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh" (Robert Hamilton), he says, —

"As I have had the honor of being frequently admitted to the author's company when he was in London, and to converse with him on various points of learning, I will venture to affirm that there are no parts of mathematical, philosophical, or medical knowledge,—nay, I believe I might justly say, of human literature,—to which he is in the least a stranger; yet so totally insensible is he of his own merit that I am confident he does not know he has any; and, as himself somewhere says of the angels, he always turns his head away on the slightest encomium. What he knows of the most interesting and noble science of all, I most humbly submit, Sir, to your better judgment: yet I must say that, though I have read much of the historical and mystical proofs of the truth of Scripture, I have never yet met with any assertions so wonderfully affecting the mind of man."

"To the Professor of Divinity at Glasgow" (R. Traill), he writes,—

"As I have had often the honor of conversing with him, I can with great truth assert that he is truly amiable in his morals, most learned and humble in his discourse, and superlatively affable, humane, and courteous in his behavior; and this joined with a solidity of understanding and penetration far above the level of an ordinary genius. Thus much I know of him and therefore sacredly affirm, though not without an humble deference to your opinion of his writings."

And "to the Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen" (Alexander Gerard), he says, after mentioning the sending of the books,—

"I wish, good Sir, you may think them worthy of your perusal, as they are the productions of a man whose good qualities, resulting from his natural, acquired, and blessed abilities, I can with much truth, from my frequent converse with him, assert are a high ornament to human nature."

Dr. Messiter attended Swedenborg in his last illness, and to him, in company with Mr. Hartley, Swedenborg, a few days before his death, affirmed most solemnly,—

"I have written nothing but the truth, as you will have it more and more confirmed hereafter all the days of your life, provided you always keep close to the Lord and faithfully

serve Him alone, in shunning evils of all kinds as sins against Him, and diligently searching His Sacred Word, which from beginning to end bears incontestable testimony to the truth of the doctrines I have delivered to the world.

From Dr. William Spence's *Essays in Divinity and Physics*, published in 1792, we receive this curious story in regard to the end of Dr. Messiter's life :—

“Having had the favor of the doctor's company to dine with me and a few friends, a few weeks before his decease, some of the company having heard that the doctor had asked the question, wished to know whether Swedenborg had mentioned when this New-Jerusalem doctrine might be established, as at that time the regular clergy seemed almost all to refuse it; to which the doctor said, the Baron's answer to him was, that times and seasons were in God's hands, therefore he could not positively say when; yet thus much he was allowed to tell him, that he [Dr. M.] would probably live *thirteen years*, just to see it in its bud. ‘Now,’ says the doctor, ‘it is just thirteen years that I have lived, as he foretold, to see it in its bud, through your little society's encouraging the printing of his works.’ The doctor also confirmed what Mr. Shearsmith and his wife, in whose house he died, have declared upon oath, that Swedenborg knew and foretold the Sunday evening he was to leave them, and that to the last he asserted that the ‘doctrine will be received in God's good time, because the Lord has promised it in His Word.’ . . .

“I had promised,” says Dr. Spence, “to return the doctor's visit with my spouse the first good weather; but a few weeks after, hearing that Dr. Messiter had died suddenly, I told my wife that she was now too late in returning the doctor's visit, as his thirteen years were now quite out; yet luckily the doctor did not seem to suspect it in the limited sense.”

Let it here be said of Dr. Spence that, though never having personally met Swedenborg, he was one of the friends of the New Church who held a first public meeting, in 1783, and one of the five who in 1785 undertook the publication of *The Apocalypse Explained*. He is described by Nordensköld as “a physician and apothecary, an extremely honest and benevolent gentleman, although his means were limited.”

Another friend at this time was General Tuxen, holding

an important office under the Danish Government at Elsinore, to whom we are indebted for pleasing glimpses of Swedenborg in common life, as also for trustworthy accounts of some unusual events. Tuxen was induced to seek an interview with Swedenborg on account of the remarkable stories he had heard of his intercourse with the other world. At his request, when next the object of his curiosity stopped at Elsinore, on his passage through the Sound, he was notified by the Swedish consul and invited to meet him at dinner at the consul's house. Says Tuxen,—

"I made all possible haste, and on entering the house I addressed the Assessor as being an intimate friend of the consul's, who came on purpose to have the honor of the acquaintance of so celebrated and learned a man as himself; and I requested his permission to ask him a few questions. To this he civilly and mildly answered, 'Ask what you please; I will answer all in truth.' My first question was, whether the relation reported as having passed between himself and the Queen in Stockholm was true. He answered, 'Tell me in what manner you have heard it related, and I will tell you what part of it is true or otherwise.' I replied that, as I saw he was on the point of going on board the vessel, I supposed there was no time to lose, and therefore desired he would have the kindness to relate the affair to me. He consented, and told it me in the same manner as I had been informed of it before by means of letters from people of credit; adding, however the following circumstances." . . .

As this story told by Tuxen is rather long, we omit it now, and will presently give its substance as told more concisely by Baron Höpken. General Tuxen continues:—

"In the course of further conversation on the principles of religion advocated and explained by him, I took an opportunity of asking him how a man who was confident of being serious in his duty towards God and his neighbor, could be certain whether he was in the right road to salvation or not. I was answered that this was very easy, and that such a man need only examine himself and his own thoughts according to the Ten Commandments; as, for instance, whether he loves and fears God; whether he is happy in seeing the welfare of others and does not envy them; whether on having received a great injury from others, which may have excited him to anger and revenge, he afterwards changes his sentiments because God has said that vengeance belongs to Him; and so on. Then he may rest assured

that he is on the road to heaven ; but when he discovers himself to be actuated by contrary sentiments, on the road to hell. This led me to think of myself as well as of others.

"I also asked him whether he had seen the lately deceased King Frederic V., adding that, although some human frailty or other might be attributed to him, yet I had certain hopes that he was happy. His answer was, 'Yes, I have seen him, and I know that he is very happy; and not only he, but likewise all the kings of the house of Oldenburg, who are all associated together. This is not the happy case with our Swedish kings, some of whom are not so well off.' This he said in the presence of the consul and the Swedish captain with whom he sailed.

"He added further : 'In the world of spirits I have not seen any one so splendidly served and waited on as the deceased Empress Elizabeth of Russia.' As I expressed much astonishment at this, he continued, 'I could also tell you the reason, which few could surmise, namely, that with all her faults she had a good heart, and with her neglect or indifference a certain consideration which induced her purposely to postpone signing many edicts and papers that were from time to time presented to her; for which reason they multiplied to such a degree that at last she could not examine or peruse them, but was obliged to believe the representations of the ministers and sign as many as possible; after which she would retire into her closet, fall on her knees, and beg forgiveness of God if she had against her will signed anything that was wrong.' When this conversation was ended, Swedenborg in a friendly and civil manner took leave and went on board.

"Some time afterwards I learned that Swedenborg, who was on his last journey to Amsterdam and London [1770], had been detained for four days by a contrary wind on board a Swedish ship, anchored a few miles from Elsinore. I therefore took a boat and went off to see him; on my inquiring whether Assessor Swedenborg was on board, the captain answered in the affirmative, bade me welcome, and opened the cabin-door, which as soon as I entered he shut after me. I found the Assessor seated in undress, his elbows on the table, his hands supporting his face, which was turned towards the door, his eyes open and much elevated. I was so imprudent as immediately to address him, expressing my happiness at seeing and speaking with him. At this he recovered himself, for he had really been in a trance, or ecstasy, as his posture evinced, and rising with some confusion advanced a few steps from the table in singular and visible uncertainty expressed by his countenance and hands; from which, however, he soon recovered, bidding me welcome and asking me whence I came. I answered that as I had heard he was on board a Swedish ship lying

below the Koll, I had come to invite him on the part of my wife and myself to favor us with his company at our house. To this he immediately consented, pulling off his gown and slippers, putting on clean linen, and dressing himself as briskly and alertly as a young man of one and twenty. He told the captain where he was to be found if the wind became favorable, and accompanied me to Elsinore.

"Here my wife, who was then indisposed, was waiting to welcome him and to request him to excuse us if our house should in any respect fall short of our wishes to entertain him, adding that she had for these thirty years past been afflicted with a violent hysterical disease, which occasioned her much pain and uneasiness. He very politely kissed her hand and answered, 'Oh dear! of this we will not speak; only acquiesce in the will of God; it will pass away and you will again attain the same health and beauty as when you were fifteen years of age.' I do not recollect what she or I answered to this; but I remarked that in answer to us he replied, 'Yes, in a few weeks;' from which I concluded that diseases which have their foundation in the mind, and are maintained by the infirmities and pains of the body, do not leave man immediately on the separation of the body. . . .

"I do not remember on what occasion he told me that the King had issued a circular letter to all the Consistories in Sweden, requesting them to send a statement of their grounds of complaint against Swedenborg's writings and explanations in religion; and that the King, the last time he spoke with him on the subject, familiarly laid his hand on his shoulder and said, 'They will not make any reply to me, although I have demanded their explicit answers.'"

The evening was passed with the General, his wife, who was an excellent singer, her daughter, who played on the harpsichord, and several young ladies. Swedenborg was delighted with their music and made himself agreeable to all, declaring, in reply to his host's regret at having no better company for him, that he had always been partial to ladies' society. General Tuxen concludes:—

"For my part, I thank our Lord, the God of Heaven, that I have been acquainted with this great man and his writings. I esteem this as the greatest blessing I have ever experienced in my life, and I hope I shall profit by them in working out my salvation. My valued guest afterwards took his coffee with a few biscuit, and I accompanied him on board the vessel. Here he took leave of me for the last time in a very affectionate manner, and I hope I shall in the other life testify to him my grateful heart."

Swedenborg had mentioned to Tuxen the name of Count Anders Johan Von Höpken, as a friend in Sweden who had some interest in his writings. Count Höpken was a man of great literary distinction, a Senator, and for a time held office equivalent to being Prime Minister of Sweden. His acquaintance with Swedenborg is thus set forth by himself in a letter to Tuxen:—

“I have not only known him these two and forty years, but also, some time since, daily frequented his company. A man who like me has lived long in the world and even in an extensive career of life, must have had numerous opportunities of knowing men as to their virtues or vices, their weakness or strength; and in consequence thereof I do not recollect to have known any man of more uniformly virtuous character than Swedenborg,—always contented, never fretful or morose, although throughout his life his soul was occupied with sublime thoughts and speculations. He was a true philosopher and lived like one; he labored diligently, and lived frugally without sordidness; he travelled continually, and his travels cost him no more than if he had lived at home. He was gifted with a most happy genius, and a fitness for every science, which made him shine in all those which he embraced. He was without contradiction the most learned man in my country. In his youth he was a great poet: I have in my possession some remnants of his Latin poetry which Ovid would not have been ashamed to own.¹ In his middle age his Latin was in an easy, elegant, and ornamental style; in his latter years it was equally clear, but less elegant after he had turned his thoughts to spiritual subjects. He was well acquainted with Hebrew and Greek, an able and profound mathematician, a happy mechanician, of which he gave proof in Norway, where, by an easy and simple method, he transported the largest galleys over high mountains and rocks to a gulf where the Danish fleet was stationed. . . . He possessed a sound judgment upon all occasions; he saw everything clearly and expressed himself well on every subject. The most solid memorials and the best penned at the Diet of 1761, on matters of finance, were presented by him. . . . I once represented in rather a serious manner to this venerable man, that I thought he would do better not to mix with his beautiful writings so many ‘memorable relations,’ or things heard and seen in the spiritual world concerning the states of men after death, of which ignorance makes a jest and derision. But he answered me that this did not depend on him; that he was too old to sport with spiritual

¹ Count Höpken himself is called in the Swedish Biographical Dictionary “the Swedish Tacitus.”

things, and too much concerned for his eternal happiness to yield to such foolish notions; assuring me on his hopes of salvation that imagination produced in him none of his revelations, which were true and from what he had heard and seen."

In another letter Count Höpken recurs to the same point: speaking of a certain clergyman, he says,—

"He was by no means a Swedenborgian, for he did not understand his 'memorable relations;' and I could wish the happy deceased had left them out, as they may prevent infidelity from approaching his doctrines. I represented to him these inconveniences; but he said that he was commanded to declare what he had seen in the other world; and he related it as a proof that he did not reveal his own thoughts, but that they came from above. As for the rest, I find in his system a simplicity and gradation, and such a spirit as the work of God in nature everywhere proves and exhibits; for whatever man creates is complicated, labored, and subject to vicissitude."

In a letter to another friend, still to the same point, the Count says,—

"There are two circumstances in the doctrine and writings of Swedenborg. The first is his 'memorable relations.' Of these I cannot judge, not having had any spiritual intercourse myself, by which to judge of his assertions either approvingly or disapprovingly; but they cannot appear more extraordinary than the Apocalypse of John, and other similar relations in the Bible. The second is his tenets of doctrine. Of these I can judge: they are excellent, irrefutable, and the best that ever were taught, promoting the happiest social life. I know that Swedenborg wrote his *memorabilia bonæ fide*. . . .

"I have sometimes told the King that if ever a new colony were to be formed, no religion could be better, as the prevailing and established one, than that developed by Swedenborg from the Sacred Scriptures, and this for the two following reasons: First, this religion, in preference to and in a higher degree than any other, must produce the most honest and industrious subjects; for it properly places the worship of God in uses. Second, it causes least fear of death, as this religion regards death merely as a transition from one state to another, from a worse to a better situation; nay, upon his principles I look upon death as being of hardly any greater moment than drinking a glass of water. I have been convinced of the truth of Swedenborg's doctrine from these arguments in particular, namely, that ONE is the author of everything, and that a separate person is not the Creator, and another the Author of religion; that there are

degrees in everything and these subsisting to eternity; the history of creation is unaccountable unless explained in the spiritual sense. We may say of the religion which Swedenborg has developed in his writings from the Word of God, with Gamaliel: 'If it be of God, it cannot be overthrown; but if it be of man, it will come to nought.'

That Swedenborg on his part held Höpken in high esteem is shown by the memorials to the Diet in his favor, to which we have already referred (see p. 279). We will take our leave of the Count in copying his statement of the "Truthful account made by the late Queen Dowager":—

"Swedenborg was one day at a court reception. Her Majesty [the Queen Dowager Louisa Ulrica] asked him about different things in the other life, and lastly whether he had seen or talked with her brother, the Prince Royal of Prussia. He answered, 'No.' Her Majesty then requested him to ask after him, and to give him her greeting, which Swedenborg promised to do. I doubt whether the Queen meant anything serious by it. At the next reception Swedenborg again appeared at court; and while the Queen was in the so-called white room, surrounded by her ladies of honor, he came boldly in and approached her Majesty, who no longer remembered the commission she had given him a week before. Swedenborg not only greeted her from her brother, but also gave her his apologies for not having answered her last letter; he also wished to do so now through Swedenborg, which he accordingly did. The Queen was greatly overcome, and said, 'No one except God knows this secret.'

"The reason why the Queen never adverted to this before, was that she did not wish any one in Sweden to believe that during a war with Prussia she had carried on a correspondence in the enemy's country. The same caution her Majesty exercised during her last visit to Berlin. When she was asked about this transaction, which had been printed in a German paper, she did not answer."

The same story comes to us through many different channels, to substantially the same effect. The account given by Mr. Springer, as from Swedenborg himself, contains a variation quite likely to be true:—

"The Queen of Sweden had written letters to her brother, a Prince of Prussia; and having no answers, she doubted whether he had received them or not. The Baron [Swedenborg] at that time had converse with the Queen, and her brother had died in Prussia. She was very desirous to know if he had received the letters. She consulted the

Baron, who said he would inform her in a few days. He did so, and told her he had received them and was going to answer them, and that in an escritoire of the Prince was a letter unfinished intended for her; but he was taken ill and died. She sent to the King of Prussia, and it was as the Baron had foretold,—the King sent the unfinished letter."

The Prince of Prussia referred to was Augustus William, brother to Frederic II. and to the Queen Louisa Ulrica, wife of Adolphus Frederic, King of Sweden from 1751 to 1771. It is amusingly told, on the authority of the wife of Swedenborg's gardener, that "for days following the occurrence carriages stopped before the door of her master, from which the first gentlemen of the kingdom alighted, who desired to know the secret of which the Queen was so much frightened; but her master, faithful to his promise, refused to tell it."

Christopher Springer, whose statement we have just quoted, was a Swede, and long a friend of Swedenborg, both in their own country and in London, where for political reasons he resided many years. He had been prominent in public affairs at home, and became the confidential agent of the English Government in all that concerned Swedish matters, being employed in bringing about peace between Sweden and Frederick the Great, in 1762. In London he was regarded as the father of the Swedes, and was applied to for all aid and information. In answer to inquiries about Swedenborg, after his decease, Mr. Springer says,—

"His father, Jesper Swedberg, was Bishop of Skara, a man of great learning; but this Emanuel Swedenborg received richer endowments from God. His knowledge as well as his sincerity was great. He was constant in friendship, extremely frugal in his diet, and plain in his dress. His usual food was coffee with milk, and bread and butter; sometimes, however, he partook of a little fish, and only at rare intervals ate meat; and he never drank above two glasses of wine. . . .

"Two or three weeks before his decease . . . I asked him when he believed that the New Jerusalem, or the New Church of God, would manifest itself, and whether this manifestation would take place in the four quarters of the world. His answer was that no mortal and not even the celestial angels could predict the time; that it was solely in the will of God. 'Read,' said he, 'the Book of Revelation, xxi. 2,



and Zachariah xiv. 19, and you will see there that the New Jerusalem will undoubtedly manifest itself to the whole earth.' . . .

"Fifteen years ago [in 1766] Swedenborg set out for Sweden, and asked me to procure a good captain for him, which I did. I contracted with one whose name was Dixon. . . . When the captain of the vessel called for Swedenborg, I took leave of him and wished him a happy journey. Having then asked the captain if he had a good supply of provisions on board, he answered me that he had as much as would be required. Swedenborg then observed, 'My friend, we have not need of a great quantity; for this day week we shall, by the aid of God, enter into the port of Stockholm at two o'clock.' On Captain Dixon's return, he related to me that this happened exactly as Swedenborg had foretold.

"Two years afterwards Swedenborg returned to London, where we continued our former friendship. He told me that he had sent his works to the bishops of Sweden, but without result, and that they had received him with the same indifference that he had experienced from the bishops in England. What a remarkable change I noticed among the bishops of London! I had witnessed myself with what coldness he was received by them before his departure for Sweden, and I saw that on his return he was received by them with the greatest civility. I asked him how this change could have come, when he answered, 'God knows the time when His Church ought to commence.' . . .

"As to what relates to myself, I cannot give you a reason for the great friendship Swedenborg entertained for me, who am not a learned man. It is true, we were good friends in Sweden; but that this friendship between us should have become as constant as it has been, I never expected.

"All that he has told me of my deceased friends and enemies, and of the secrets I had with them, is almost past belief. He even explained to me in what manner peace was concluded between Sweden and the King of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion. He even specified the three high personages whose services I made use of at that time; which was, nevertheless, a profound secret between us. On asking him how it was possible for him to obtain such information, and who had discovered it to him, he replied, 'Who informed me about your affair with Count Claes Ekeblad? You cannot deny that what I have told you is true. Continue,' he added, 'to merit his reproaches; ¹ depart not from the good way either for honors or money; but, on the contrary, continue as constant therein as you have hitherto, and you will prosper.'"

¹ For refusing a great bribe.

Among Swedenborg's friends in his latter days, if not much more than an acquaintance, we may mention Arvid Ferelius, pastor of the Swedish Church in London. From his position he had serious conversations with Swedenborg, administered the Communion to him, and officiated at his funeral. There is reason to believe that he was favorably impressed with the doctrines his communicant commended to him, although he never openly professed them. To a friend, Professor at Griefswalde, Ferelius writes,—

"Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg died in the month of March, 1772, and was buried by me on April 5th in the burying vault of the Swedish Ulrica-Eleonora church; which was the last clerical duty I performed in that country. Towards the close of the year [1771] he was touched by paralysis on one side, which rendered his speech indistinct, especially when the atmosphere was oppressive.

"I visited him several times, and asked him each time whether he had an idea that he was to die at this time, upon which he answered, 'Yes.'

"Upon this I observed to him, that as quite a number of people thought that his sole purpose in promulgating his new theological system had been to make himself a name, or to acquire celebrity, which object indeed he had thereby attained,—if such had been the case, he ought now to do the world the justice to retract it either in whole or in part, especially as he could not expect to derive any additional advantage from this world, which he would soon leave. He thereupon half rose in his bed, and laying his sound hand upon his breast said, with some manifestation of zeal, *'As true as you see me before your eyes, so true is everything that I have written; and I could have said more, had it been permitted. When you enter eternity, you will see everything, and then you and I shall have much to talk about.'*

"When I asked him whether he was willing to receive the Lord's Supper, he replied, 'With thankfulness;' and then he added that my question was very opportune; and although being a member of the other world he did not need this sacrament, he would still take it, in order to show the close relation which exists between the Church above and the Church here below; and he then asked whether I had read his views about the sacrament of the altar, the Communion. I then asked whether he acknowledged himself to be a sinner. He replied, 'Certainly, as long as I carry about this sinful body.'¹ With

¹ Or, according to another account, "I am most undoubtedly a sinner; for what other reason should I have to carry about with me this sinful body?"

much devotion, folding his hands and uncovering his head, he read the confession of sins and received the holy sacrament. Afterwards, from gratitude, he presented me with a copy of his larger work, the *Arcana Cælestia*, of which only nine copies remained unsold, which were to be sent to Holland.

"When I visited him another time, while I was in the hall and going upstairs, I heard him speaking with the greatest energy, as though he were addressing a large company; but as I came into the ante-chamber where his female attendant was sitting, and asked her who was with Assessor Swedenborg, she replied, 'No one;' adding that he had been speaking in this manner for three days and nights. Upon entering his sleeping-room, he bade me welcome with great calmness and asked me to take a seat; he then told me that for ten days and nights he had been tormented by evil spirits whom the Lord had sent up to him, and that never before had he been infested by such wicked spirits; but that now he was again in the company of good spirits.

"While he was still in health, I came to him once with the Danish pastor, when he was sitting and writing at a round table in the middle of the room, with the Hebrew Bible before him, which constituted his whole library. After greeting us, he pointed to a place opposite and said, 'Just now the Apostle Peter was here and stood there; and not very long ago all the Apostles were with me; indeed, they often visit me.' In this manner he always expressed himself without reserve; but he never sought to make proselytes. That upon which he was engaged at the time, he said, was to be a demonstration from the writings of the Apostles,¹ that the Lord was the only and true God, and that there is no other besides Him.

"Although Swedenborg was several times in the Swedish church and afterwards dined with me, or with some other Swede, he said that he had no peace in the church on account of the spirits, who contradicted what the minister said, especially when he treated of three persons in the Godhead, which is the same as three Gods.

This preaching was probably by Mathesius, the colleague of Ferelius, who was violently opposed to Swedenborg's views, and of whom we shall presently hear again. Ferelius continues,—

"Some one might think that Assessor Swedenborg was eccentric and whimsical; but the very reverse was the case. He was very easy and pleasant in company, talked on every subject that came up, accommodating himself to the ideas of the company; and he never spoke on his own views, unless he was asked about them. But if he

¹ This would account for the Apostles' presence.

noticed that any one asked him impertinent questions, intending to make sport of him, he immediately gave such an answer that the questioner was obliged to keep silence, without being the wiser for it."

It is pleasant to learn that the good pastor Ferelius received at Swedenborg's burial his large Hebrew Bible, his travelling companion, full of underscored passages.

While we are upon these little incidents of Swedenborg's life in London, let us quote a few other persons to whom he was known. Mr. Eric Bergström, host of King's Arms Tavern, said to Peter Provo,—

"I was personally acquainted with Assessor Swedenborg: he frequently called on me, and once lived ten weeks together in this house, during which time I observed nothing in him but what was very reasonable and bespoke the gentleman. He at that time breakfasted on coffee, ate moderately at dinner, and drank one or two glasses of wine after it, but never more. In the afternoon he drank tea, but never ate any supper. He usually walked out after breakfast, generally dressed neatly in velvet, and made a good appearance. He was mostly reserved, but complaisant to others.

"He has told me that very few were given to see the things that he did, and that he often saw many extraordinary things. Mr. Springer once asked him, when at dinner here, about the state of a person [Ekeblad?] who was the occasion of Mr. Springer's being obliged to leave Sweden, and who was deceased; to which he answered that it was very bad, and that he hoped his would be better. A secretary of Baron Nolcken, who was present, put an impertinent question to him of a similar kind, which he refused to answer, observing that he never answered such questions as originated in ill-will or malice. . . .

"Mr. Mathesius was an opponent of Swedenborg and said that he was a lunatic, etc.; but it is remarkable that he became a lunatic himself, which happened publicly one day when he was in the Swedish church and about to preach. I was there and saw it. He has been so ever since, and was sent back to Sweden, where he now is. This was about four years ago.¹

"In general Swedenborg kept retired and sought to avoid company

¹ It was Mathesius who told this absurd story to Wesley, being enraged by Swedenborg's objections to the Lutheran creed. The story was founded on information said to have been given by Brockmer, a Moravian, with whom Swedenborg lodged at one time in London. These statements Brockmer afterwards denied for the most part, though Swedenborg believed that he had doubtless made them out of revenge for his exposure of Moravianism.

and making known where he was. Some of his friends here spoke against him, and some were for him. For my own part I think he was a reasonable, sensible, and good man : he was very kind to all and generous to me. As for his peculiar sentiments, I do not meddle with them."

Mr. Hart, son of Mr. John Hart, Swedenborg's London printer, according to Mr. Provo —

"Thought Swedenborg a remarkable man, for whilst he was abroad old Mr. Hart, his father, died in London. On Swedenborg's return he went to spend an evening at Mr. Hart's house, in Poppin's Court. After being let in at the street door, he was told that his old friend Mr. Hart was dead ; to which he replied, 'I know that very well, for I saw him in the spiritual world while I was in Holland, at [such a time, near the time he died, or soon after] ; also whilst coming over in the packet to England : he is not now in heaven, but is coming round and in a good way to do well.' This much surprised the widow and son, for they knew well he was just come over, and they said that he was of such a nature that he could impose on no one, that he always spoke the truth concerning every little matter, and would not have made any evasion though his life had been at stake. Mr. Hart, the father, printed all the *Arcana Cælestia* in Latin. Swedenborg was fond of his company and often went to spend an evening there : he used to take particular notice of Mr. Hart's little girl.

"Mr. Burkhardt, a Swede and formerly clerk to the Swedish Chapel in London, told Mr. Provo in 1783 that he knew Swedenborg and was present once when he dined in London with some of the Swedish clergy. He said that some argument passed between Swedenborg and one of them concerning the Lord and the nature of man's duty to Him, and that Swedenborg overthrew the tenets of his opponent, who appeared but a child to him in knowledge. Mr. Burkhardt added that Swedenborg was a holy, good man, much given to abstraction of mind ; that even when walking out he sometimes seemed as if in private prayer, and latterly took but little notice of things and people in the streets."

John Christian Cuno, soldier, poet, and merchant, of Amsterdam, left a manuscript autobiography, in which he has much to say of Swedenborg : —

"I must remain faithful to a promise made last year, and begin by giving an account of the most singular saint who has ever lived, Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg. As nothing concerns me more in this world than the worship of God, and as I found interspersed in the last work

of that man such strange and singular things, I was naturally impelled by an irresistible curiosity to make the acquaintance of the author. . . .

"The Christian worship of God is subject to this sad calamity in this world, that attacks are made upon it either by arrogant fools who call themselves strong-minded, or by visionaries; the latter rendering it ridiculous sometimes without wishing to do so, but the former endeavoring to do so with all their power. The learned Mr. Swedenborg cannot be classed among freethinkers and enemies of the Christian religion; for he writes with the greatest reverence for God and His Word. He has impressed upon me the most profound reverence for the adorable Saviour of the world, and his entire system of doctrine is based upon His Divinity. . . .

"I scarcely believe that he has any enemies; at all events he could not have made them by the innocent, even sainted, tenor of his life; and should he have them, it would be impossible for them, as well as for the scoffers who examine closely all modes of life different from their own, to discover anything in him which they could justly find fault with, or even calumniate. . . .

"My first acquaintance with him dates from November 4, 1768, when I happened to meet him in the French book-shop of Mr. François Changuion. The old gentleman speaks both French and High-German, yet not very readily. Besides, he is afflicted with the natural infirmity of stammering; yet at one time more than at another. Our first meeting was pleasing and sympathetic. He permitted me to call upon him at his own house, which I did on the following Sunday; and I continued to do so almost every Sunday, after attending church in the morning. He lodged near our old church in Kälbergasse [Amsterdam], where he had engaged two comfortable rooms. One of my first questions was whether he had no male attendant to wait upon him in his old age, and to accompany him on his journeys. He answered that he needed no one to look after him, because his angel was ever with him, and conversed and held communication with him. If another man had uttered these words, he would have made me laugh; but I never thought of laughing when this venerable man, eighty-one years old, told me this,—he looked far too innocent; and when he gazed on me with his smiling blue eyes, which he always did in conversing with me, it was as if truth itself was speaking from them. I often noticed with surprise how scoffers, who had made their way into large companies where I had taken him, and whose purpose it had been to make fun of the old gentleman, forgot all their laughter and their intended scoffing; and how they stood agape and listened to the most singular things which he, like an open-hearted child, told about the spiritual world, without reserve and with full confidence. It almost

seemed as if his eyes possessed the faculty of imposing silence on every one.

"He lived with simple burgher folks, who kept a shop in which they sold chintz, muslin, handkerchiefs, and the like, and who had quite a number of little children. I inquired of the landlady whether the old gentleman did not require very much attention. She answered, 'He scarcely requires any; the servant has nothing else to do for him except in the morning to lay the fire for him in the fire-place. Every evening he goes to bed at seven, and gets up in the morning at eight. We do not trouble ourselves any more about him. During the day he keeps up the fire himself, and on going to bed takes great care lest the fire should do any damage. He dresses and undresses himself alone, and waits upon himself in everything; so that we scarcely know whether there is any one in the house or not. I should like him to be with us during the rest of his life. My children will miss him most; for he never goes out without bringing them home sweets: the little rogues also dote on the old gentleman so much that they prefer him to their own parents.' . . .

"It soon became known in town that I associated with this remarkable man, and everybody troubled me to give them an opportunity of making his acquaintance. I advised the people to do as I had done, and to call upon him, because he willingly conversed with every honest man. Mr. Swedenborg moves in the world with great tact, and knows how to address the high as well as the low. . . .

"Once, at the urgent request of my friend, Mr. Nicolam Konaaw, I agreed to bring him to dinner. The old gentleman consented and was prepared at once to go. Mr. Konaaw sent his carriage for us. On presenting ourselves to Madame, we found among other guests the two Misses Hoog, who had been highly educated and had been introduced, beyond the common sphere of woman, into the higher, especially the philosophical sciences. Mr. Swedenborg's deportment was exquisitely refined and gallant. When dinner was announced, I offered my hand to the hostess, and quickly our young man of eighty-one years had put on his gloves and presented his hand to Mademoiselle Hoog, in doing which he looked uncommonly well. Whenever he was invited out, he dressed properly and becomingly in black velvet; but ordinarily he wore a brown coat and black trowsers. . . .

"I shall never forget, as long as I live, the leave which he took of me in my own house. It seemed to me as if this truly venerable old man was much more eloquent this last time, and spoke differently from what I ever heard him speak before. He admonished me to continue in goodness and to acknowledge the Lord for my God. 'If it please God, I shall once more come to you in Amsterdam; for I love you.' 'O my worthy Mr. Swedenborg,' I interrupted him, 'this will

probably not take place in this world; for I, at least, do not attribute to myself a long life.' 'This you cannot know,' he continued, 'we are obliged to remain as long in the world as the Divine Providence and Wisdom see fit. If any one is conjoined with the Lord, he has a foretaste of the eternal life in this world; and if he has this, he no longer cares so much about this transitory life. Believe me, if I knew that the Lord would call me to Himself to-morrow, I would summon the musicians to-day, in order to be once more really gay in this world.' In order to feel what I felt then, you would have had to hear the old man say this, in his second childhood. This time also he looked so innocent and so joyful out of his eyes as I had never seen him look before. I did not interrupt him, and was as it were dumb with astonishment. He then saw a Bible lying on my desk, and while I was thus gazing quietly before me and he could easily see the state of my mind, he took the book and opened it at this passage: 1 John v. 20, 21. 'Read these words,' he said, and then closed the book again, 'but that you may not forget them, I will rather put them down for you;' and in saying these words he dipped the pen in order to write them on the leaf which is preserved here; his hand however trembled, as may be seen from the figure 1. This I could not bear, and so I asked him in a friendly manner to mention the passage to me. I then put down the passage myself. As soon as I had done so he arose. 'The time now approaches,' he said, 'when I must take leave of my other friends.' He then embraced and kissed me most heartily.

"As soon as he had left, I read the passage which he had recommended to me. It read thus: 'But we know that the Son of God has come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life. Little children, keep yourselves from idols. Amen.'"

In a sense, Cuno's account is the more valuable for his not accepting the whole of Swedenborg's theology. Of his intercourse with the other world he does not seem to have any serious doubt; but Cuno was too much attached to the Lutheran Church to be content with Swedenborg's condemnation of the doctrine of justification by faith, especially when himself accused by his Church of affiliating with its opponent. In a few months he wrote and circulated a long letter to Swedenborg, over the signature of "Paulus ab Indagine," condemning his departure from the Lutheran faith, and questioning whether he had not been deceived by his spirits.

The letter was not meant to be unfriendly, but its contents were quite sufficient to account for Swedenborg's changed appearance, when they met again, and for his remark, "If you are not willing to believe me, you have expended far too much trouble in studying my writings so attentively as you have." Cuno soon found, however, that Swedenborg was not unfriendly, and they had pleasant meetings when he was again in Amsterdam. In 1770 he noted in his memoirs,—

"Last year I gave my readers many sheets to read respecting my dear old Swedenborg; but I am by no means done yet with this singular man, and as long as my eyes remain open, I shall not so easily turn them away from him. I still hear news concerning him from Sweden, nay, a short time ago he desired to be remembered to me, and sent me word that he hoped to embrace me this summer. The clergy have made an assault upon him with all their power, but they could not do him any harm, because those high in authority, yea, it is said, the King and the Queen, love him."

CHAPTER XIV.

STORIES OF SPIRITUAL SIGHT. — DR. BEYER. — OPPOSITION BY THE CLERGY.

MANY must have been the calls Swedenborg received on account of his strange gift of spiritual sight, of a few of which record has been preserved. One is related in the *Theory of Pneumatology* by J. H. Jung-Stilling, whose name is cited in Kürtz's Church History among the five "most brilliant and best known names of the faithful sons of the Church" who withstood the rationalistic spirit of the age: —

"As so very much has been written both for and against this extraordinary man, I consider it my duty to make known the *pure truth* respecting him, since I have had an opportunity of knowing it pure and uncontaminated."

After declaring that "Swedenborg was no impostor, but a pious Christian man," and referring to the "three proofs generally known that he had actually intercourse with spirits," Stilling continues,—

"But I must add here a fourth experimental proof which has not been made public before, and which is fully as important as any of the foregoing. I can vouch for the truth of it with the greatest certainty.

"About the year 1770 there was a merchant in Elberfeld with whom, during seven years of my residence there, I lived in close intimacy. He was a strict mystic in the purest sense. He spoke little; but what he said was like golden fruit on a salver of silver. He would not have dared, for all the world, knowingly to tell a falsehood. This friend of mine, who has long ago left this world for a better, related to me the following story:—

"His business required him to take a journey to Amsterdam, where Swedenborg at that time resided; and having heard and read much of this singular man, he formed the intention of visiting him and becom-

ing better acquainted with him. He therefore called upon him and found a very venerable-looking, friendly old man who received him politely and requested him to be seated, whereupon the following conversation began:—

"*Merchant.* 'Having been called hither by business, I could not deny myself the honor, Sir, of paying my respects to you: your writings have caused me to regard you as a very remarkable man.'

"*Swedenborg.* 'May I ask you where you are from?'

"*M.* 'I am from Elberfeld, in the Duchy of Berg. Your writings contain so much that is beautiful and edifying, that they have made a deep impression on me; but the source from whence you derive them is so extraordinary, so strange and uncommon, that you will perhaps not take it amiss of a sincere friend of truth if he desire incontestable proofs that you really have intercourse with the spiritual world.'

"*S.* 'It would be very unreasonable if I took it amiss; but I think I have given sufficient proofs, which cannot be contradicted.'

"*M.* 'Are these the well-known ones, respecting the Queen, the fire in Stockholm, and the receipt?'

"*S.* 'Yes, those are they, and they are true.'

"*M.* 'And yet many objections are brought against them. Might I venture to propose that you give me a similar proof?'

"*S.* 'Why not? Most willingly.'

"*M.* 'I had formerly a friend who studied Divinity at Duisburg, where he fell into consumption, of which he died. I visited this friend a short time before his decease; we conversed together on an important topic: could you learn from him what was the subject of our discourse?'

"*S.* 'We will see. What was the name of your friend?'

"The merchant told his name.

"*S.* 'How long do you remain here?'

"*M.* 'About eight or ten days.'

"*S.* 'Call upon me again in a few days. I will see if I can find your friend.'

"The merchant took his leave and despatched his business. Some days afterwards he went again to Swedenborg, full of expectation. The old gentleman met him with a smile and said,— I have spoken with your friend; the subject of your discourse was *the restitution of all things.*' He then related to the merchant with the greatest precision what he and what his deceased friend had maintained. My friend turned pale, for this proof was powerful and invincible. He inquired further,—'How fares it with my friend? Is he in a state of blessedness?' Swedenborg answered, 'No, he is not yet in heaven; he is still in hades, and torments himself continually with the idea of the restitution of all things.' This answer caused my friend the greatest

astonishment. He exclaimed,—‘My God! what, in the other world?’ Swedenborg replied,—‘Certainly, a man takes with him his favorite inclinations and opinions, and it is very difficult to be divested of them: we ought therefore to lay them aside here.’ My friend took his leave of this remarkable man, perfectly convinced, and returned back to Elberfeld. . . . That Swedenborg for many years had frequent intercourse with the inhabitants of the spiritual world, is not subject to any doubt, but is a settled fact.”

Another statement given by Jung-Stilling, as he had it from “a certain beloved friend for many years, who is far advanced in Christianity,” is as follows:—

“In the year 1762, on the very day when Peter III. of Russia died, Swedenborg was present with me [a God-fearing friend of Stilling’s friend] at a party in Amsterdam. In the middle of the conversation his physiognomy changed, and it was evident that his soul was no longer present in him, and that something was taking place with him. As soon as he recovered, he was asked what had happened. At first he would not speak out; but after being repeatedly urged, he said, ‘Now, at this very hour, the Emperor Peter III. has died in prison,’—explaining the nature of his death [strangled by order of the Empress]. ‘Gentlemen, will you please make a note of this day, in order that you may compare it with the announcement of his death which will appear in the newspapers?’ The papers soon after announced the death of the Emperor, which had taken place on the very same day. . . .

“Such is the account of my friend; if any one doubts this statement, it is a proof that he has no sense of what is called historical faith and its grounds; and that he believes only what he himself hears and sees.”

And yet Jung-Stilling himself preferred attributing Swedenborg’s communication with the other world to “somnambulism” and a state of ecstasy in which spirits spoke through him,—a notion not at all consistent with the fact that Swedenborg never laid aside his own reason and the control of his speech and acts. These illustrations of this open communication we quote, not as proofs to convince the incredulous,—no second-hand testimony can do that,—but as a part of Swedenborg’s daily life which cannot fairly be omitted, and which indeed is necessary to complete our understanding of his being present in both worlds at once. As such

they serve as confirmation to those who recognize the spiritual truths which this communication was given to reveal.

Of the "three proofs" to which Jung-Stilling referred, we have already seen the story of Queen Ulrica and her brother. The second is of the fire in Stockholm known to Swedenborg at Gottenburg; and the third is of a mislaid receipt. Of these occurrences Swedenborg himself says, in a letter to Venator, minister of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt,—

"These must by no means be regarded as miracles; for they are simply testimonies that I have been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world and have intercourse and converse there with angels and spirits,—in order that the Church, which has hitherto remained in ignorance concerning that world, may know that heaven and hell really exist, and that man lives after death a man as before; and that thus, no more doubts may flow into his mind in respect to his immortality."

The occurrence of the Stockholm fire is variously related. Immanuel Kant's account, gathered by him with great care for a correspondent, seems most complete and trustworthy, with R. L. Tafel's correction of the date. Says Kant,—

"The following occurrence appears to me to have the greatest weight of proof, and to place the assertion respecting Swedenborg's extraordinary gift beyond all possibility of doubt:—

"In the year 1759, towards the end of July, on Saturday at four o'clock P. M., Swedenborg arrived at Gottenburg from England, when Mr. William Castel invited him to his house, together with a party of fifteen persons. About six o'clock Swedenborg went out, and returned to the company quite pale and alarmed. He said that a dangerous fire had just broken out in Stockholm, in the Södermalm (Gottenburg is about three hundred miles from Stockholm), and that it was spreading very fast. He was restless and went out often. He said that the house of one of his friends, whom he named, was already in ashes, and that his own was in danger. At eight o'clock, after he had been out again, he joyfully exclaimed, 'Thank God! the fire is extinguished, the third door from my house.' The news occasioned great commotion throughout the whole city, but particularly amongst the company in which he was. It was announced to the governor the same evening. On Sunday morning Swedenborg was summoned to

the governor, who questioned him concerning the disaster. Swedenborg described the fire precisely,—how it had begun, and in what manner it had ceased, and how it had continued. On the same day the news spread through the city, and, as the governor had thought it worthy of attention, the consternation was considerably increased, because many were in trouble on account of their friends and property which might have been involved in the disaster. On Monday evening a messenger arrived at Gottenburg, who was despatched by the Board of Trade during the time of the fire. In the letters brought by him the fire was described precisely in the manner stated by Swedenborg. On Tuesday morning the royal courier arrived at the governor's with the melancholy intelligence of the fire, of the loss which it had occasioned, and of the houses it had damaged and ruined, not in the least differing from that which Swedenborg had given at the very time when it happened; for the fire was extinguished at eight o'clock."

From many different accounts of the lost receipt, agreeing in substance, we select again that of Kant, confirmed as it is in all essential particulars by the secretary of the legation and executor of the estate :—

"Madame Marteville, the widow of the Dutch Ambassador in Stockholm, some time after the death of her husband, was called upon by Croon, a goldsmith, to pay for a silver service which her husband had purchased from him. The widow was convinced that her late husband had been much too precise and orderly not to have paid this debt, yet she was unable to find the receipt. In her sorrow, and because the amount was considerable, she requested Mr. Swedenborg to call at her house. After apologizing to him for troubling him, she said that if, as all people say, he possessed the extraordinary gift of conversing with the souls of the departed, he would perhaps have the kindness to ask her husband how it was about the silver service. Swedenborg did not at all object to comply with her request. Three days afterwards the said lady had company at her house for coffee. Swedenborg called, and in his cool way informed her that he had conversed with her husband. The debt had been paid seven months before his decease, and the receipt was in a bureau in the room upstairs. The lady replied that the bureau had been quite cleared out, and that the receipt was not found among all the papers. Swedenborg said that her husband had described to him how, after pulling out the left-hand drawer, a board would appear which required to be drawn out, when a secret compartment would be disclosed, containing his private Dutch correspondence, as well as the receipt. Upon hearing this description the whole company rose and accompanied the lady into the room up-

stairs. The bureau was opened; they did as they were directed; the compartment was found, of which no one had known before; and to the great astonishment of all, the papers were discovered there in accordance with his description."

This event, as well as that of the Queen, seems to have occurred in the year 1761,—that is, about the time when Swedenborg was becoming known as the writer of his theological works.

If there were but one name to be handed down with Swedenborg's in connection with his work, it should be that of Gabriel Andersson Beyer, doctor and professor of theology at Gottenburg. Says Mr. Wenngren of that city,—

"About the year 1766 Swedenborg went to Gottenburg, intending to embark for England: when he arrived there, he took his passage in a vessel which was to sail in a few days. During his stay at Gottenburg Dr. Beyer accidentally met him in company, and entertaining from report the same sentiments with many others in that country, with respect to his being a madman on account of his assertion that he had communication with the spiritual world, he was surprised when he observed that Swedenborg spoke very sensibly, without discovering any marks of that infirmity of which he was suspected; he therefore invited Swedenborg to dine with him the day following, in company with Dr. Rosén. After dinner Dr. Beyer expressed a desire, in the presence of Dr. Rosén, to hear from himself a full account of his doctrines; upon which Swedenborg, animated by the request, spoke so clearly and in so wonderful a manner on the subject that the Doctor and his friend were quite astonished. They did not interrupt him; but when the discourse was ended, Dr. Beyer requested Swedenborg to meet him the next day at Mr. Wenngren's and to bring with him a paper containing the substance of his discourse, that he might consider it more attentively. Swedenborg came the day following, according to his promise, and taking the paper out of his pocket in the presence of the other two gentlemen, he trembled and appeared much affected, the tears flowing down his cheeks; when, presenting the paper to Dr. Beyer, 'Sir,' said he, 'from this day the Lord has introduced you into the society of angels, and you are now surrounded by them.' They were all greatly affected. He then took his leave, and the next day embarked for England.

"The Doctor immediately sent for his writings, and to arrange the subjects more distinctly in his mind began the Index [to Swedenborg's Theological Works] which as he prepared he sent sheet by sheet to

G. Beyer

Amsterdam to be printed. He was thirteen years in completing that work, and on the day he sent off the last sheet corrected, he became ill, took to his bed, and in a few days it pleased the Lord to call him to Himself, to bestow on him the reward of his useful labors."

From the time of Dr. Beyer's introduction to Swedenborg he devoted all his leisure to the study and diffusion of his teachings. He taught them from his professor's chair, preached them from the pulpit, and published them in a Catechism and a Course of Philosophy. What opposition he thus stirred up, we shall see in his correspondence with Swedenborg. He is described as "a man of the purest virtue and of the most amiable character,—pious, simple-minded, humble, and frank; gentle and conciliatory with others, strict and severe towards himself, faithful to his convictions, persevering in his undertakings, and filled with the warmest sympathies for everything that appeared to him beautiful, true, good, and sacred."

We suspect that the interview above described took place in the summer of 1765, when Swedenborg was on his way to Amsterdam for the purpose of printing *The Apocalypse Revealed*. For on the 1st of October in that year he sends a note to Dr. Beyer with two copies of the beginning of this work, as far as then printed. In the next March Dr. Beyer writes, thanking him for the sheets he had sent, expressing the joy he often experiences and his delight in the way "the glorious truths are beginning to shine" before him. Nevertheless he is somewhat troubled that the Epistles of the Apostles are not spoken of as the Word of God. He begs for light on this point, and also to see the subject of marriage fully treated, and asks for certain volumes of the *Arcana Cœlestia* he could not obtain.

On the 8th of April Swedenborg sends him eight copies of *The Apocalypse Revealed*, now completed,—one for himself, the rest for distribution,—and informs him that he is then going to England, "where some noise is probably being made on account of the bishops of England being somewhat severely treated in the Memorable Relations; yet necessity

required it." On the 15th of April he answers Dr. Beyer's question about the Epistles :—

"In respect to the writings of the Apostles and Paul, I have not quoted them in the *Arcana Cælestia*, because they are doctrinal writings, and consequently are not written in the style of the Word, like those of the Prophets, of David, of the Evangelists, and the Book of Revelation. The style of the Word consists altogether of correspondences, wherefore it is effective of immediate communication with heaven ; but in doctrinal writings there is a different style, which has indeed communication with heaven, but mediately. They were written thus by the Apostles, that the new Christian Church might be commenced through them ; wherefore matters of doctrine could not be written in the style of the Word, but they had to be expressed in such a manner as to be understood more clearly and intimately. The writings of the Apostles are, nevertheless, good books of the Church, insisting upon the doctrine of charity and its faith as strongly as the Lord Himself has done in the Gospels and the Book of Revelation."

In August he writes from London :—

"*Reverend Doctor*,—I send you herewith a complete set of the *Arcana Cælestia*, and likewise the last volume of those which were still wanting in yours ; they are however all unbound. I thought at first of bringing them to you myself ; but I changed my mind about travelling to Gottenburg, as an opportunity offered of going to Stockholm directly, which will be next week. Should any one be able to make use of my travelling carriage on his way to Stockholm, or should any one wish to buy it, it may be left to them."

This was the passage he made in one week with Captain Dixon. Swedenborg thus speaks of it in his next letter, from Stockholm, Sept. 25, 1766 :—

"I arrived here as early as September 8. The trip from England was made in eight days ; a favorable wind increasing to a perfect storm carried the ship along in this style.

"I wish much blessing to the intended 'Collection of Sermons,' and I send you herewith my subscription for it. I presume you will use all necessary precaution in this work, because the time has not yet arrived when the essentials of the New Church can be received in this manner. It is difficult to convince the clergy, who have been confirmed in their dogmas at the universities; for all confirmations in matters of theology are, as it were, glued fast in the brain and can with difficulty be removed, and as long as they are there, genuine truths can have no place. Besides, the New Heaven of Christians out of which the New Jerusalem will descend from the Lord (Rev. xxi. 1, 2), is not yet fully established."

In February, 1767, Swedenborg writes to Beyer,—

"Several questions have been propounded to me by your friend, to which you will please receive the following as an answer:—

"I. My opinion concerning the writings of Böhme and L——. I have never read either; I was forbidden to read writers on dogmatic and systematic theology before heaven was opened to me, because unfounded opinions and inventions might thereby have easily insinuated themselves, which afterwards could only have been removed with difficulty; wherefore, when heaven was opened to me I had first to learn the Hebrew language, as well as the correspondences according to which the whole Bible is composed, which led me to read the Word of God over many times; and as God's Word is the source whence all theology must be derived, I was enabled thereby to receive instruction from the Lord, who is the Word."

"II. Query: *How soon a New Church may be expected.* Answer: the Lord is preparing at this time a New Heaven of those who believe in Him, acknowledge Him as the true God of heaven and earth, and look to Him in their lives,—which means to shun evil and do good; for from that heaven the New Jerusalem is to come down (Rev. xxi. 2). I daily see spirits and angels, from ten to twenty thousand, descending

and ascending, and being set in order. By degrees, as that heaven is being formed, the New Church likewise begins and increases. The universities in Christendom are now first being instructed, whence will come new ministers ; for the New Heaven has no influence over the old [clergy], who deem themselves too learned in the doctrine of justification by faith alone."

"As here [in Stockholm] they now begin to think more of charity than before, asserting that faith and charity cannot be separated, therefore faith alone begins also to be called Moravian faith."

It is noteworthy that Swedenborg was looking to the Christian universities for the reception and propagation of the faith of the New Heaven and New Church. On this account we find him distributing his works among these universities and libraries with a free hand, till the editions were exhausted. Witness the following note to the Secretary of State in Stockholm :—

"I have at last finished the explanation of the Book of Revelation and circulated it in all the universities in Holland, Germany, France, and England, and am going to send seventy copies to Stockholm, of which your honor will please take five and give them to the following senators,—Senator Höpken, Senator Scheffer, likewise to Nordencrantz, the Councillor of Commerce, and Bishops Menander and Serenius ; the other five you will please to distribute among your friends. The remaining sixty copies I desire to be kept safe until my return home. I intend to distribute them among the academies and libraries of Sweden, and among clergymen who are qualified for a more than ordinary position. Four I intend to present to the Court, and the remainder to universities and theological seminaries in foreign parts."

Doubtless for the most part these books were soon shelved, if not consigned to still greater obscurity. Yet very many inquiring men must have looked into them at one time and another ; and the amount of direct effect they have had,

through these very universities, in bringing about the more rational and Scriptural views on doctrinal points that now so widely prevail, is incalculable.

In March, 1769, Swedenborg writes again to Dr. Beyer,—

“I had the pleasure of receiving yours of Nov. 23, 1768. The reason I did not answer it sooner was that I postponed until a little work was published, entitled *A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation*, in which work are fully shown the errors of the hitherto received doctrine of justification by faith alone, and the imputation of the righteousness or merit of Christ. This treatise was sent by me to all the clergy in Holland, and will come into the hands of the most eminent in Germany. I have been informed that they have attentively perused it, and that some have already discovered the truth, while others do not know which way to turn; for what is written therein is sufficient to convince any one that the above-mentioned doctrine is the cause of our having at the present day no theology in Christendom.”

“Here [in Amsterdam] they frequently inquire of me respecting the New Church, when it will come. To which I answer,—By degrees, in proportion as the doctrine of justification and imputation is extirpated: which perhaps will be brought about by this work. It is known that the Christian Church did not take its rise immediately after the ascension of Christ, but increased gradually, which is also meant by these words in the Revelation,—‘And the woman flew into the desert, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent’ (xii. 14). The serpent or dragon is that doctrine.”

In November, 1769, in answer to Dr. Beyer’s request for some account of his early life, Swedenborg says,—

“From my fourth to my tenth year I was constantly engaged in thought upon God, salvation, and the spiritual experiences of men; and some times I revealed things at which my father and mother wondered, saying that an angel must

be speaking through me. From my sixth to my twelfth year I used to delight in conversing with clergymen about faith, saying that the life of faith is love, and that the love which imparts life is love to the neighbor; also that God gives faith to every one, but that those only receive it who practise that love. I knew of no other faith, at that time, than that God is the Creator and Preserver of nature, that He imparts understanding and a good disposition to men, and many other things that follow thence. I knew nothing then of that learned faith which teaches that God the Father imputes the righteousness of His Son to whomsoever, and whenever, He chooses, even to those who have not repented and have not reformed their lives. And had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then, as it is now, above my comprehension.

For a while Dr. Beyer and his friend Dr. Rosén, who also was a professor at Gottenburg, studied Swedenborg's writings and adopted his doctrines in their teachings without molestation. But in time the more bigoted theologians perceived that their own dogmas on the tri-personality and on justification by faith alone were being undermined; they became alarmed, and attempted through the Consistory at Gottenburg to obtain an injunction on the propagation of Swedenborg's doctrines. Dr. Beyer and Dr. Rosén protested against any such arbitrary action, when no suitable investigation had been held. The matter was referred to the House of the Clergy, and in this House to the Privy Council. Swedenborg's own view of the matter appears clearly in the following letter to Dr. Beyer, dated Stockholm, April 12, 1770:—

*“Reverend Doctor and Lector,—*Only two days ago I received your favor of the 21st of March last, and on reading it through I was surprised at the reports, which are said to have reached Gottenburg from Stockholm, to the effect that you and Dr. Rosén are to be deposed, deprived of office, and banished from the country, a report to which I certainly

can give no credence ; for it contradicts my reason in the highest degree to believe that a person may be deprived of office and banished from the country on the mere allegation of his being heretical, without the principal point of accusation against him being investigated. In the printed minutes I cannot find that they have taken a single step in regard to the question itself, but that they have simply busied themselves in making attacks in abusive and unseemly language, when yet the real point at issue is this, whether it is allowable to approach immediately our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, or whether we must go a circuitous way, namely, to God the Father, that He may impute to us the merit and righteousness of His Son, and send the Holy Spirit. But that we may go the other, which is the direct way, namely, to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, is in accordance both with the Augsburg Confession and the *Formula Concordiæ*, and also with our own prayers and hymns ; and it entirely agrees with God's Word.

"In the Augsburg Confession are the following words : 'For the Scripture sets before us Christ alone as the Mediator, the Propitiator, the High Priest, and the Intercessor ; He is to be invoked or addressed ; and He has promised that He will hear our prayers ; and the Sacred Scripture very greatly approves of this worship, namely, that He should be invoked in all afflictions' (1 John ii. 1).

"In the *Formula Concordiæ* are these words : 'We have a command that we should call upon Christ, according to this saying, Come unto Me all ye that labor, etc., which is certainly addressed to us ; and Isaiah says, chap. xi. 10, And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people : on Him shall the nations call. And in Psalm xlv. 12, The rich among the people shall entreat Thy countenance. And in Psalm lxxii. 11, And all kings of the earth shall fall down before Him. And in another verse, 15, They shall pray before Him continually. And in John v. 23, Christ says, All shall honor

the Son, even as they honor the Father. See also Paul in 1 Thess. ii.' These are the identical words quoted from the work.

"In our hymn-book are prayers and hymns addressed to Jesus Christ alone, as Hymn 266, of which I will quote only what follows : —

Lo! Jesus is my might;
He is my heart's delight.
O Jesus, hear my voice!

If I of Christ make sure,
I'll ever feel secure,
And freed from all my sins.

As Jesus is my shield,
I'll ne'er to Satan yield
Tho' he against me rage.

My cares and all my woe
On Him alone I'll throw,
Who is my strength and guard.

By day and night I'll rest
All safe on Jesus' breast,
In whom alone I trust.

"Besides all this, two of my letters which have been inserted and printed in the Gottenburg Minutes, contain numerous proofs, adduced from the whole of the *Formula Concordiæ*, that our Saviour, even as to His Humanity, is God; which Luther and the *Formula Concordiæ* corroborate with all their power, and which is also in agreement with the entire Word of God. In proof of this I refer you only to Col. ii. 9; 1 John v. 20, 21. More to the same purport has been adduced from one of my works, an extract from which may be found in the printed Minutes of the Gottenburg Consistory. This doctrine they there call 'Swedenborgianism'; but for my part I call it Genuine Christianity."

At different stages of the controversy, Swedenborg sent several vigorous communications to the Consistory, Privy

Council, and King, and, as we have seen in his letter to General Tuxen, was told by the King that his opponents would not make any reply to the Royal summons. But the King, it would appear, had underrated the hostility of these defenders of the faith-alone doctrine, and was himself compelled to make some concessions in order to maintain his own orthodoxy. By a Royal Resolution of April 26, 1770, the Consistory of Gottenburg was authorized to summon before it Doctors Beyer and Rosén, to inform them of the royal displeasure, and to seek to convince them of their errors. By a second Resolution of the same date orders were given for seeking out and confiscating the theological works of Assessor Swedenborg, and to enforce the Royal Resolution of 1735 prohibiting the delivery of books imported from abroad, before permission should be granted by the executive of the nearest Consistory. These Resolutions were a great surprise to Swedenborg. He knew how the persecution had arisen, but underestimated its strength. To General Tuxen he wrote on the first of May, before learning of the Resolutions, —

“The affair took its rise at Gottenburg, principally from the Dean. The deputies of that place having been instructed to complain of me and of Dr. Beyer to the Diet, they pushed matters as far as they could, but would never have effected anything had not Bishop Filenius, who was then the Speaker in the House of the Clergy, taken up the matter, and by cunning and craft gained over a crowd in the House. This the Bishop did at first from secret dislike, and afterwards from malice. The result was that a committee was appointed in the House of the Clergy on the Swedenborgian cause. Whilst they deliberated on this subject I did not hear a word of it, as all was carried on with secrecy; yet the committee, which consisted of bishops and professors, found the matter quite different from what Bishop Filenius had represented: they concluded in my favor, and expressed themselves in the House with respect to myself very handsomely and reasonably. Bishop Filenius, never-

theless, succeeded in having a memorial submitted to his Royal Majesty and the Privy Council to this effect, that the Chancellor of Justice should endeavor to quell the disorders which had arisen at Gottenburg; whereupon the Chancellor of Justice sent a letter to the Consistories that they should express themselves in regard to this matter; and after their opinions had been received, the affair occupied the Privy Council for two days; and not until then did I come forward with the enclosed letter which was read before the Council. The conclusion is contained in a letter addressed by the Chancellor of Justice to the Consistory of Gottenburg, which is not against me, and the particulars of which I shall relate to you some other time. Of all this I knew nothing while it was being discussed; but, enjoying the calm in my chamber, I allowed the storm to rage as much as it pleased outside: for it had been resolved in the Diet, as well as in the Privy Council, that my person should not be touched."

On learning the Resolutions issued a few days before, Swedenborg on the 10th of May addressed the following letter to the King:—

"Most powerful and most gracious King,—I feel compelled at this juncture to have recourse to your Majesty's protection; for I have been treated as no one has ever been treated before in Sweden since the introduction of Christianity, and still less since the establishment of freedom here. I will first give you a brief account of things as they have happened. Upon my return from abroad the last time, I was informed that Bishop Filenius had confiscated my work *De Amore Conjugiali*, which had appeared in Holland and been sent to Norrköping.¹ I therefore immediately inquired

¹ Robsahm tells us in his memoirs that "Swedenborg had ordered for the Diet in Norrköping, 1769, a small box of his works from England, which in accordance with the regulations of customs was detained in the custom house, on account of their containing foreign or heterodox thoughts on religion. Swedenborg, therefore, asked a clergyman [Bishop Filenius], one of his influential relatives, to get this box released for him, because he desired to distribute

of some bishops whether this had been authorized by the House of the Clergy ; they answered that they were aware of the confiscation, but that no general action had been taken, and that not a word about it had been entered on the minutes. Immediately afterwards the clergy from Gottenburg made a noise in their House about my books, and pushed matters so far that the House appointed a committee on 'Swedenborgianism,' which consisted of bishops and professors. This committee sat for several months, and at last reported handsomely and reasonably on that subject, and thereby suppressed completely the disturbance which had been made ; but to put an end to it still more effectually, it was resolved that a humble memorial should be addressed to your Royal Majesty, requesting that the Chancellor of Justice should inquire about the disturbances which had arisen in Gottenburg. When the Bishop and the Dean of that place, who are the torch and trumpet in this affair, discovered that they made no progress in the reverend House of the Clergy, they, to stir up and kindle the flame anew, commenced a publication of twenty sheets or more about 'Swedenborgianism,' which is filled with invectives ; and after this had been sent to Stockholm, the matter was taken up and settled by your Majesty in the Privy Council, in consequence of which the Chancellor of Justice despatched to the Consistory of Gottenburg an official letter, wherein I have reason to think he assented to the opinion expressed by the Consistory.

"I received no more intimation than a child in the cradle of all that took place, of the committee in the reverend House

the books among the members of the various Houses of the Diet. This man assured Swedenborg that he would, and on leaving embraced and kissed him ; but when he went up to the House, it was he who insisted most strongly that the books should not be released." Oddly enough some years later a book-collector found a grocer using these same books, *De Amore Conjugiali*, for wrapping paper, and was able to save a considerable number of copies entire. This reminds us of Bishop Swedberg's plaintive expectation that his own cartloads of printed sheets prohibited by the hostile censors, would be used after his death "by woman-kind to wrap cakes and pies."

of the Clergy, of the memorial they submitted to your Royal Majesty, of the publication in Gottenburg on 'Swedenborgianism,' of the Resolution which was passed by your Royal Majesty in the Privy Council, and of the letter embodying it which was despatched to the Consistory in Gottenburg. Of all this, from beginning to end, I received not the least intimation : all was done without my receiving a hearing, when yet the whole matter was about 'Swedenborgianism ;' and the papers printed in Gottenburg are filled with coarse and reprehensible language without touching materially the subject of 'Swedenborgianism,' which is the worship of the Lord our Saviour. Of these printed papers I had no other knowledge than what I received from a general commissary of war [Tuxen] at Elsinore, and afterwards from a friend here in Stockholm who lent them to me for a day. Wherefore I still insist that everything that has taken place since my return home has from beginning to end been done without giving me a hearing.

"From a rumor which has spread here in town I have learned that from the office of the Chancellor of Justice a communication has been made to the Consistory of Gottenburg, to the effect that my books have been entirely forbidden to be imported into this country, and further that the same office has stigmatized my revelations as untrue and false. In reply to this I humbly beg to make the following statement : That our Saviour visibly revealed Himself before me, and commanded me to do what I have done, and what I have still to do ; and that thereupon He permitted me to have intercourse with angels and spirits I have declared before the whole of Christendom, as well in England, Holland, Germany, and Denmark, as in France and Spain, and also on various occasions in this country before their Royal Majesties, and especially when I enjoyed the grace to eat at their table, in the presence of the whole royal family, and also of five senators and others ; at which time my mission constituted the sole topic of conversation. Subsequently, also, I have

revealed this before many senators ; and among these Count Tessin, Count Bonde, and Count Höpken have found it in truth to be so : and Count Höpken, a gentleman of enlightened understanding, still continues to believe so, without mentioning many others, as well at home as abroad, among whom are both kings and princes. All this, however, the office of the Chancellor of Justice, if the rumor is correctly stated, declares to be false ; when yet it is the truth. Should they reply that the thing is inconceivable to them, I have nothing to gainsay, since I am unable to put the state of my sight and speech into their heads, in order to convince them ; nor am I able to cause angels and spirits to converse with them ; nor do miracles happen now : but their very reason will enable them to see this, when they thoughtfully read my writings, wherein much may be found which has never before been discovered, and which cannot be discovered except by real vision and intercourse with those who are in the spiritual world. In order that reason may see and acknowledge this, I beg that one of your Excellencies may peruse what has been said on this subject in my book, *De Amore Conjugiali*, in a Memorable Relation on pp. 314-316 : his Excellency Count Ekeblad and his Excellency Count Bjelke possess the book. If any doubt should still remain, I am ready to testify with the most solemn oath that may be prescribed to me that this is the whole truth and a reality, without the least fallacy. That our Saviour permits me to experience this is not on my own account, but for the sake of a sublime interest which concerns the eternal welfare of all Christians. Since such is the real state of things, it is wrong to declare it to be untruth and falsity ; although it may be pronounced to be something that cannot be comprehended.

“If now the rumor which has been spread is correct,—namely, that such things are contained in the letter which was sent from the office of the Chancellor of Justice to the Consistory of Gottenburg,—it follows hence that my books are declared to be heretical, and that I am declared to speak

untruths and falsehoods in matters of revelation ; and further, that, from beginning to end, all this has been determined upon without giving me a hearing. What else results from this, but that, in agreement with the Resolution, any severe treatment may be brought forward by the Consistory of Gottenburg and Bishop Filenius, and sentence may be pronounced upon me, without my being heard in the affair at all ; for of what use is a declaration or a defence after the sentence has been pronounced ?

“This is the reason why, as I said above, ‘I am compelled to have recourse to your Majesty, since I have been treated as no one has ever been treated before in Sweden since the introduction of Christianity, and still less since the establishment of freedom,’ by being treated as I have been, without a hearing having been granted me.

“As this, however, concerns not only my writings, but as a natural consequence my person also, I make a humble request that the memorial should be communicated to me which was addressed to your Royal Majesty in this matter by the House of the Clergy, likewise the minutes of the Privy Council, and the letter which was despatched from the office of the Chancellor of Justice to the Consistory of Gottenburg, in order that I may at once be heard, and may show forth the whole of my treatment before the public at large.

“In respect to Doctors Beyer and Rosén of Gottenburg, I have given them no other advice than that they should approach our Saviour, JESUS CHRIST, to whom all power has been given in heaven and on earth (Matt. xxviii. 18), and should strive after their salvation ; and as far as I have been able to learn they have affirmed and insisted upon that one point, which is also in conformity with the Augsburg Confession, the *Formula Concordiæ*, and the whole Word of God ; nevertheless for this acknowledgment alone they have become to a certain extent martyrs, at least so far as regards the cruel persecutions of the Bishop and the Dean of that town. The same expression also I apply to my books, which I regard

as my own self, when, nevertheless, all that the Dean of Gottenburg has poured out against them consists of sheer invectives, which do not contain a particle of truth.

"Your Royal Majesty's most humble and most dutiful servant and subject,

"EMANUEL SWEDENBORG."

No answer was received to this letter; perhaps none was expected. The matter came up again before the Privy Council, and was deferred. In July Swedenborg went to Amsterdam to publish *The True Christian Religion*, after sending copies of his letter to the King, to the Chancellor of Justice, and to the three Swedish Universities. On the part of his opponents it was held that the Privy Council was the head ruler in religious matters. Swedenborg contended that the Council was but the vicar of the Houses of the Diet, and that they again were but the vicar of the Lord, the real Head of the Church. As the persecution of Doctors Beyer and Rosén still continued, he wrote to Dr. Beyer in April, 1771,—

"I wonder that they keep stirring up this affair at Gottenburg; I will complain of them at the next Diet, when I send over my *Universa Theologia Novi Coeli et Novæ Ecclesiæ* ('The True Christian Religion'), which will leave the press towards the close of the month of June. I will send two copies of this work to each House, and request them to appoint for its consideration a general committee from all the Houses, in order to put an end to the affair in this way. I am certain of this, that, after the appearance of the book referred to, the Lord our Saviour will operate both mediately and immediately towards the establishment throughout the whole of Christendom of a New Church based on this 'Theology.' The New Heaven, out of which the New Jerusalem will descend, will very soon be completed."

In *The True Christian Religion* thus announced, Swedenborg printed an account of a discussion in a council of the clergy in the world of spirits, on their former tenets.

Near the conclusion of the discussion, in which Swedenborg himself had taken an active part, one arose and declared that he himself was intimately associated with a man still in the world, of eminent station, from whom he had gained the idea that Swedenborg's views partook of Mahometanism. The eminent man, he said, lived at Gottenburg. An uproar arose in the assembly, and Swedenborg denounced the charges of materialism and Mahometanism, as inventions to deter men from the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. He then requested the speaker to desire his friend to read what is said in the Apocalypse, iii. 18; and also ii. 16. (T. C. R. 137.)

Again Swedenborg writes to Dr. Beyer, July 2,—

“*Reverend Doctor*,—Captain Sjöberg informed me that he was commissioned by Mr. Hammarberg to purchase some sets of the works written by me, namely, four of each, and among them also the last book which appeared a few days ago. On account of the strict prohibition the captain did not dare to purchase more than one copy of each; besides this I presented him with a copy of the last work published. Perhaps Mr. Hammarberg may know of some way by which he could receive another copy if it were sent afterwards. In a few days I will send to Stockholm by the skipper Casper Nyberg two copies of the work just published, entitled *Vera Religio Christiana*; one for Bishop Menander and the other for Bishop Serenius; and among other things I will give them to understand that, as soon as the Diet is properly organized, I shall tender a formal complaint of the course of proceeding of the Privy Council in the Gottenburg matter, in respect to you and myself; from which I hope a favorable result. . . . With my kindest regards to Dr. Rosén I remain, with all friendship and affection,

“Your most obedient servant and friend,

“EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.”

Swedenborg did not fulfil his intention of repairing to Sweden and appealing to the Diet of 1772, perhaps on ac-

count of the infirmities that grew upon him, but accepted the invitation of his English friends and spent his few remaining months in London, though not at their expense.

Dr. Beyer and Dr. Rosén maintained their position ably and without wavering. The result was that they were allowed to retain their offices at Gottenburg, but were prohibited from teaching theological matters, because of their "erroneous doctrinal opinions."

Meanwhile the distinguished and enlightened, but somewhat one-sided prelate, Oetinger,¹ who was in a measure friendly to Swedenborg, was bringing him into notice and calling down denunciation on the heads of both. Singularly Oetinger was deeply affected by Swedenborg's account of things heard and seen in the spiritual world, and entertained no doubt of their reality. He translated and published with his own writings the intermediate chapters of the *Arcana Cælestia*. But he could not accept the explanations of Scripture, because he was unwilling to give up his old belief in the literal, material fulfilment of the prophecies. His books that contained portions of Swedenborg's were condemned and confiscated by the clerical authorities, and again and again with determined will he petitioned for their release, though without success. His vigorous spirit well appears in the preface to his translation from the "Arcana":—

"I herewith present to the examination of the reader something rare, which God has given us to know in the present times. It is

¹ Kürtz calls Oetinger "the magus of the south," "deeply learned in the Scriptures," "the first representative of a theology of the future, which, it is true, might need thorough purifying and close sifting, but yet might be adapted to represent, in its fundamental idea, the basis for the true reconciliation of Idealism and Realism." Dorner says Oetinger's "view of heaven, as a world of realities, could not suffer him to conceive of God as merely an infinite, unfathomable Being, all will and reason. It obliged him to regard Him as the living centre, who, while He governs the universe, is at the same time enthroned in a glory and happiness to which He is, through Christ, raising the human race. Hence he could not accommodate himself to the thought that the relation of God to the world was that of a dead law, nor confine His intercourse with man to the judicial functions of commanding, acquitting, and condemning."—*History of Protestant Theology*, 234.

profitable to compare unusual things with those to which we are accustomed; but in doing so it is necessary sometimes to keep back our judgment, until we are able to take in the whole matter. The infidelity which is rife now in the world has induced God to make use of a celebrated philosopher in order to communicate to us heavenly information. Mathematics have checked the imagination of this philosopher; wherefore it will not do to say that he reports mere imaginations. Experimental facts are not imaginations. These experiences are due to the influx of heavenly intelligences by the command of the Lord. Should any one say, 'We have Moses and the Prophets,' he may read what follows or not, just as he pleases. Still, a person anxious to improve himself ought not to forego any opportunity by which he may become acquainted with new light offered to him by truth. Swedenborg, a distinguished Assessor of the College of Mines in Sweden, wrote a large work in folio, which is most costly [*Opera Philosophica*.] This I call Earthly Philosophy in contradistinction to the following, which is of a heavenly origin, and which he has published in thirteen works that are still more valuable. Should you find therein propositions which appear objectionable, remember the twelve Ephesians in the Acts, xix. 21, who 'had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost,' and nevertheless were thought worthy at once to receive the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding they were ignorant of one of the chief grounds of faith, and opposed to the Scripture. Does not Swedenborg place the Scripture higher than any one else? and does he not wish to have all experiences judged thereby? Is not all he says well connected? And does he not appeal to many witnesses?"

Referring to the first volume of the same philosophical work, in a letter of defence addressed to the Duke of Würtemberg, Oetinger says, "Thirty years previously I had studied Swedenborg's *Principia Rerum Naturalium* in folio, which I preferred much to Wolff's philosophy, on account of its leading to the Sacred Scripture. It is wonderful how a philosopher, who was accustomed to think according to the rules of mechanics, should have become a prophet."

From Swedenborg himself Oetinger received the following reply to one of his queries:—

"Why from being a philosopher I have been chosen? Answer: The cause of this has been, that the spiritual things which are being revealed at the present day may be taught and understood naturally and rationally: for spiritual truths

have a correspondence with natural truths, because in these they terminate, and upon these they rest. That there is a correspondence of all spiritual things with all things of man, as well as with all things of the earth, may be seen in the work on Heaven and Hell. For this reason I was introduced by the Lord first into the natural sciences, and thus prepared ; and indeed from the year 1710 to 1744, when heaven was opened to me. Every one also is led by means of natural things to spiritual things : for man is born natural ; by education he is moral, and afterwards by regeneration from the Lord he becomes spiritual. The Lord has granted to me besides to love truths in a spiritual manner, that is, to love them, not for the sake of honor, nor for the sake of gain, but for the sake of the truths themselves ; for he who loves truths for the sake of the truth, sees them from the Lord, because the Lord is the Way and the Truth (John xiv. 6) ; but he who loves them for the sake of honor or gain, sees them from himself ; and seeing from oneself is equivalent to seeing falsities. Falsities that have been confirmed close the Church, wherefore truths rationally understood have to open it. How else can spiritual things which transcend the understanding be understood, acknowledged, and received ? The dogma that has been handed down by the Papists, and accepted by the Protestants, namely, that the understanding is to be held in bondage under obedience to faith, has a second time closed the Church, and what else is to open it again, except an understanding enlightened by the Lord ? ”

Surely it is little matter of surprise that Papist and Protestant leaders, interested to the last degree in maintaining this bondage of reason, as the means of securing their own supremacy, should resist with despairing violence the breaking of chains and bursting of doors that attended the publication of the Doctrines of the New Church. But what can better attest the breaking of these bonds, and the light of the New Heaven in its broad descent from that time, than the astonishment with which we now look back at the slavery

of reason to blind faith, in the age that then began to see its end?

Much sensible matter was written by Oetinger, Beyer, and Rosén, in defence of Swedenborg, for which we have not space. We will content ourselves with copying the beginning of a letter from Dr. Rosén to a Senator and Councillor :—

"Gracious Sir,— As Swedenborgianism and I have fallen into the hands of your Excellency, I will not distress myself about a fortunate issue of our cause and my acquittal. The exigency of the case, nevertheless, requires that, with your gracious leave, I should explain myself at greater length. . . .

"Gracious Sir, the essence of the purity of our doctrine is its accordance with Scripture; and the laws of Sweden, especially a law dating from 1766, indicate this. If all Christians who are related to us by faith appeal to God's Word, though some do violence to it and strain it, nevertheless if we examine this matter justly and, as it were, standing in God's presence, the question resolves itself into this,—Who has really the law and the Word on his side? He who has is orthodox, and he alone. A great advance in linguistics and an accumulation of inestimable philological and philosophical discoveries, made in recent times, give me a just hope that an amendment in our faith and life, which is as possible as it is necessary, will eventually take place. And now it happens that a wonderful man, who gives evidence of a most unusual learning in natural and spiritual things, declares that he has been sent by the Lord for such a purpose; and, on being asked for his credentials, he solves all involved theological problems, strikes down naturalism and superstition, with the same weapons exposes the nakedness of the learned, and subjects himself to the good and evil report of the Lord's Apostles; he manifests the greatest possible veneration for Scripture, he worships God, and urges man to sanctification: in short, he seeks to promote the honor of the Most High. It is excusable if, for such a man, whose 'eyes are open' (Num. xxiv. 4), and 'in whom is undoubtedly the spirit of the holy gods' (Dan. v. 11),—I should conceive some veneration. Mere curiosity, however, has not led me to his doctrines, but I have been drawn to them by their consistency with God's Word."

Dr. Rosén survived Swedenborg but a year and a half. Dr. Beyer continued to labor on his Indexes till they were completed, in 1779; and soon after he had sent the last sheet of manuscript to Amsterdam, he too went to join his friend and teacher in the world of their affections.

CHAPTER XV.

FRIENDLY ACCOUNTS OF SWEDENBORG.

WE have shown the esteem for Swedenborg of two of the men named by Körtz as the leading religious spirits of this period in Germany,—Jung-Stilling and Oetinger. That of a third, Lavater, is sufficiently shown in two letters to Swedenborg, the second and shorter of which we will copy :—

*"Most noble, venerable, and beloved in Christ our Lord:—*I have taken the liberty of writing to you a second time, as it is likely you may not have received my other letter, on account of your travels; but I have at last learned by what means this will probably reach you.

"I revere the wonderful gifts you have received from God. I revere the wisdom which shines forth from your writings, and therefore cannot but seek the friendship of so great and excellent a man now living. If what is reported be true, God will show you how much I seek to converse with you in the simplicity of my mind. I am a young man, not yet thirty years old, a minister of the Gospel; I am and shall remain employed in the cause of Christ as long as I live. I have written something on the happiness of the future life. Oh, if I could exchange letters with you on this subject, or rather converse!

"I add some writing: you shall know my soul.

"One thing I beg of you, Divinely inspired man! I beseech you by the Lord not to refuse me!

"In the month of March, 1768, died Felix Hess, my best friend, a youth of Zürich, twenty-four years of age, an upright man, of a noble mind, striving after a Christian spirit, but not yet clothed with Christ. Tell me, I pray, what he is doing. Paint to me his figure, state, etc., in such words that I may know that God's truth is in you. . . .

"I am your brother in Christ. Answer very soon a sincere brother; and answer the letter I have sent in such a manner that *I may see* what I am believing on the testimony of others.

"Christ be with us, to whom we belong, living or dead.

"JOHN CASPER LAVATER,

"ZÜRICH IN SWITZERLAND, "Minister at the Orphan Asylum.
"Sept. 24, 1769."

We do not know what reply this letter received, but we have incidental knowledge of Swedenborg's purpose two years later of going to Switzerland to visit his correspondent; and the influence of his own writings on Lavater's views is apparent in the latter's "Fifteen Letters on the Scriptural Doctrine of our Reconciliation with God through Christ," and in his dissertations on "Jesus Christ ever the same, not limited by Time and Space." Indeed, an attack on Lavater's views and Swedenborg's together was made by a professor of theology, Semler. Of his preaching, Steffens's autobiography, quoted by Hagenbach (i. 500), gives this charming account:—

"He [Lavater] preached in the Reformed Church, and I both saw and heard him. His figure, as it still appears before me, was highly interesting. The tall, slender man slightly stooped in walking; his physiognomy was extremely intellectual, and his sharp features gave testimony of an excited past and of inner struggles; and his eyes flashed fervor, brilliance, and clearness. . . . The small Reformed Church was crowded, and a solemn quiet pervaded the assembly. . . . It is very remarkable how this sermon won me and held me spell-bound. He not only expressed the confidence of faith, but also the deep and overpowering feelings of the heart. It seemed to me that I was hearing for the first time the voice for which I had been longing. His sermon treated on prayer. That inward and deeply concealed, yet pious life of my childhood, which I had enjoyed in the quiet room of my mother, and which profoundly influenced my inmost soul, but could only be gently whispered externally, now seemed to awaken me, a slumberer, from my long sleep, as with a voice of thunder. With that overpowering truth which can only be portrayed by one who speaks aloud his inward experience, he described those outward and inward struggles by which victory can only be won through prayer. His language, which seemed to me so repulsive at the beginning, was now more beautiful, clear, and inspiring,—it seemed to me to be in possession of such a living force as would be impossible to any other."

Matthius Claudius, another of the men referred to by Körtz, a poet and religious writer, had no personal acquaintance with Swedenborg, but reflected the esteem of others.

"Now," he says, "after Swedenborg had made himself acquainted with all the erudition of his time, and after the greatest honors had

been bestowed upon him by individuals and whole societies, he began to see spirits. . . . He was always a virtuous man, and one who was interiorly affected with the beauty and majesty of the visible world. . . . We cannot help thinking that there are spirits, and Swedenborg often affirmed in his lifetime with great earnestness, and even on his death-bed . . . that he was able to see spirits, and had seen them. Now as the new world really existed long before Columbus found it out, though we in Europe were ignorant of its existence, so perhaps there may be a means to see spirits. . . . In the opinion of many wise people there lies a great deal of truth hidden perhaps close by us."

Father Oberlin, of Ban-de-la-Roche, yet another of "the most brilliant and best-known names of the faithful sons of the Church," and held in reverence everywhere for his love and piety, was asked by an English visitor, the Rev. J. H. Smithson, whether he had read any of the works of Swedenborg.

"He immediately reached a book, and clapping his hand upon it, expressive of great satisfaction, told me that he had had this treasure a great many years in his library, and that he knew from his own experience that everything related in it was true. This treasure was Swedenborg's work on *Heaven and Hell*." In answer to inquiry how he came to this conviction, "he replied that when he first came to reside as pastor among the inhabitants of Steinthal, they had many superstitious notions respecting the proximity of the spiritual world, and of the appearance of various objects and phenomena in that world which, from time to time, were seen by some of the people belonging to his flock. For instance, it was not unusual for a person who had died to appear to some individual in the valley. This gift of second sight, or the opening of the spiritual sight, to see objects in a spiritual state of existence, was, however, confined to a few persons, and continued but a short period and at different intervals of time. The report of every new occurrence of this kind was brought to Oberlin, who at length became so much annoyed that he was resolved to put down this species of superstition, as he called it, from the pulpit, and exerted himself for a considerable time to this end, but with little or no desirable effect. Cases became more numerous, and the circumstances so striking as even to stagger the scepticism of Oberlin himself. About this time, being on a visit to Strasburg, he met with the work on *Heaven and Hell*, which a friend [probably Jung-Stilling] recommended him to peruse. This work, as he informed me, gave him a full and satisfactory explanation of the extraordinary cases occurring in his valley, and which he himself was at length, from evidences which could not

be doubted, constrained to admit. The satisfactory solution of these extraordinary cases afforded great pleasure to his mind, and he read the 'treasure,' as he called it, very attentively, and with increasing delight. He no longer doubted the nearness of the spiritual world; yea, he believed that man, by virtue of his better part,—his immortal mind,—is already an inhabitant of the spiritual world, in which, after the death of the material body, he is to continue his existence forever. He plainly saw from the correspondent relation existing between the two worlds, that when it pleased the Lord, man might easily be placed, by opening his spiritual senses, in open communication with the world of spirits. This, he observed, was frequently the case with the seers mentioned in the Old Testament; and why might it not be so now, if the Divine Providence saw fit, in order to instruct mankind more fully in respect to their relation to a spiritual state of existence, and to replenish their minds with more accurate and copious views respecting heaven, the final home of the good, and hell, the final abode of the wicked? . . . From seeing, as explained by Swedenborg, that the Lord's kingdom is a kingdom of uses, Oberlin resolved all the exertions and operations of his life into one element—USE. He taught his people that to be useful, and to shun all evil as sin against the Lord, *in being useful*, is the truly heavenly life."¹

We cannot hear too much about the lives of such good men. Let us linger with Hagenbach on that of Father Oberlin :—

"In order to conclude the present lecture with a living, personal impression, we will leave the intricacies of the Hegelian philosophy where we commenced it, and catch a breath of the pure fresh air. We pass into a solitary vale, wild by nature but improved by the hands of man. We see a plain figure, one of God's worthiest priests. If it would not be unprotestant, we would call him, as a certain Protestant writer, Hase, has done, 'a saint of his Church.' We mean Pastor Oberlin, of the Steinthal. He is well known to you all, and therefore I will only remind you of him by recalling his image. From the larger and smaller accounts of his life by Stoeber and Schubert, we learn the following facts: The son of a Strasburg scholar, he was born in the year 1740, and received a careful Christian training. With the firm confidence of a disciple and apostle of Christ, he became pastor of Waldbach in the year 1767. He trod in the footsteps of a worthy predecessor, and communed with the noble friends of humanity whom he found in that desolate place, which, though he did not convert into a paradise, he did transform into a friendly dwelling-place of indus-

¹ *Intellectual Repository*, April, 1840.

trious men, in whose hearts and families he supplanted roughness of sentiment and indolent habits by steady and active Christianity.

"When we behold this apostolic man become a pattern of self-denial, self-conquest, and trust in God, of a mild and peaceful heroism, yet always subjecting himself to the laws of God and man; when we meet him, in the storms of revolution, preserving with prudence and determination, amid fanatics and revolutionists, a Johannine spirit which compelled their respect; when we find him, finally, in his extreme old age active in the service of his Master, until called to heaven in the year 1825,—we cannot longer doubt the power of the religious spirit which, in the midst of devastating forces, bears an eloquent witness for the Church in which and for which this power was active. It is very apparent in Oberlin's case how such demands of time as were expressed in philanthropinism were first safely and permanently realized in practical Christianity. How often was it declared at the time when Sebaldus Nothanker was written, and very much was said of the usefulness of the ministerial office, that the pastor must also understand agriculture, and aid his peasants in a secular way, if he would ennoble them morally, and win them to the reception of the Divine truth? But these ideas of the preacher remained on philanthropic paper, and became only waste paper, without being transformed into flesh and blood.

"Oberlin did the one without leaving the other undone. He gave heavenly and earthly instruction at the same time, and united the two. The 'pray and labor' was not something disjointed, but united, and therefore blessed. The same was the case with ecclesiastical union. Not only did the difference between the Reformed and the Lutheran Confessions vanish here completely, but even Catholics attended Oberlin's preaching, and he himself declared to a Catholic nobleman, that to him every Christian was welcome who believed in our natural depravity and in the necessity of our return to God. It was on the positive ground of this faith, and not on the negative basis of indifference, that he believed in union, and therefore even Catholic Christians could go to his grave and remember him in love. Oberlin's life reminds us sometimes of Lavater and Stilling, for we find in it remarkable, wonderful, and peculiar elements."¹

Carl Robsahm, treasurer of the bank at Stockholm, was intimate with Swedenborg during his later years, and left memoirs of his friend in Swedish, which have been printed in German and from that in an English translation. In the Rev. R. L. Tafel's *Documents*, a new English translation is

¹ *History of the Church in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, ii. 382.

given from the Swedish original, and from this we adopt such matters of interest as we have not already given from other sources : —

“Swedenborg’s property [in Stockholm] was about a stone’s cast in length and in breadth. The rooms of his dwelling-house were small and plain ; but were comfortable for him, though scarcely for any one else. Although he was a learned man, no books were ever seen in his room, except his Hebrew and Greek Bible, and his manuscript indexes to his own works, by which, in making quotations, he was saved the trouble of examining all that he had previously written or printed.

“Swedenborg worked without much regard to the distinction of day and night, having no fixed time for labor or rest. ‘When I am sleepy,’ he said, ‘I go to bed.’ All the attendance he required from his servant, his gardener’s wife, consisted in her making his bed and placing a large jug of water in his anteroom, his housekeeping being so arranged that he could make his own coffee in his study ; and this coffee he drank in great abundance, both day and night, and with a great deal of sugar. When not invited out, his dinner consisted of nothing but a roll soaked in boiled milk ; and this was his meal always when he dined at home. He never at that time used wine or strong drink, nor did he eat anything in the evening ; but in company he would eat freely, and indulge moderately in a social glass.

“The fire in the stove of his study was never allowed to go out, from autumn through the whole of winter until spring ; for as he always needed coffee, and as he always made it himself, without milk or cream, and as he had never any definite time for sleeping, he always required to have a fire.

“His sleeping-room was always without fire ; and when he lay down, according to the severity of the winter, he covered himself with three or four woollen blankets. But I remember one winter which was so cold that he was obliged to move his bed into his study.

"As soon as he awoke, he went into his study, where he always found glowing embers, put wood on the burning coals and a few pieces of birch bark, which for convenience he used to purchase in bundles, so as to be able to make a fire quickly ; and then he sat down to write.

"In his drawing-room was the marble table which he afterwards presented to the Royal College of Mines ; this room was neat and genteel, but plain.

"His dress in winter consisted of a fur-coat of reindeer skin, and in summer of a dressing-gown ; both well worn, as became a philosopher's wardrobe. His wearing apparel was simple, but neat. Still, it happened sometimes that when he prepared to go out, and his people did not call attention to it, something would be forgotten or neglected in his dress ; so that, for instance, he would put one buckle of gems and another of silver in his shoes,—an instance of which absence of mind I myself saw at my father's house, where he was invited to dine, and the occurrence greatly amused several young girls, who took occasion to laugh at the old gentleman.

"It was difficult for him to talk quickly, for he then stammered, especially when he was obliged to talk in a foreign tongue. Of foreign languages, in addition to the learned languages, he understood well French, English, Dutch, German, and Italian ; for he had journeyed several times in these countries. He spoke slowly ; and it was always a pleasure to be with him at table, for whenever Swedenborg spoke, all other talk was hushed ; and the slowness with which he spoke had the effect of restraining the frivolous remarks of the curious in the assembly. At first he used to talk freely about his visions and his explanations of Scripture ; but when this displeased the clergy, and they pronounced him a heretic or a downright madman, he resolved to be more sparing of his communications in company, or at all events to be more on his guard, so as not to offer an opportunity to scoffers of inveighing against what they could not understand as well as himself.

"I once addressed the pastor of our parish, an old and esteemed clergyman, and asked him what I ought to think of Swedenborg's visions and of his explanations of the Bible. This honorable man answered me with the spirit of true tolerance: 'Let God be the judge how these things are in reality! But I cannot pass the same judgment upon him that many others do; I have spoken with him myself, and I have found in company where he was with me that he is a pious and good man.'

"The chaplain of the Imperial Russian Legation, Oronoskow, who was in Stockholm during the time of the ambassador, Count Ostermann, was a monk of the Alexander-Newsky order, and led an orderly and pious life,—quite differently from the other Russian priests who had been here before him. He became acquainted with me, and I lent him Swedenborg's books, which he said he read with the greatest delight. He desired to see Swedenborg, and to talk with this remarkable man. I complied with his desire, and invited Swedenborg and him to dinner, in company with the late President of the Royal College of Commerce, Mr. von Carleson, and the Councillor of Chancery, Mr. Berch, together with several of my relatives. During dinner the chaplain asked Swedenborg, among other things, whether he had seen the Empress Elizabeth. Swedenborg answered: 'I have seen her often, and I know that she is in a very happy state.' This answer brought tears of joy into the chaplain's eyes, who said that she had been good and just. 'Yes,' said Swedenborg, 'her kind feeling for her people was made known, after her death, in the other life; for there it was shown that she never went into council without praying to God and asking for His counsel and assistance, in order that she might govern well her country and her people.' This gladdened the chaplain so much that he expressed his joyful surprise by silence and tears. . . .

"When he [Swedenborg] left Sweden for the last time, he came of his own accord to me at the bank on the day he was

to leave, and gave me a protest against any condemnation of his writings during his absence ; which protest was based on the law of Sweden, and in which he stated that the House of the Clergy was not the only judge in matters of religion, inasmuch as theology belonged also to the other Houses. On this occasion I asked him the same question as before, namely, whether I should ever see him again. His answer was tender and touching : 'Whether I shall come again, that,' said he, 'I do not yet know ; but of this I can assure you, for the Lord has promised to me, that I shall not die until I have received from the press this work, the *Vera Christiana Religio*, which is now ready to be printed, and for the sake of which I now undertake this journey ; but if we do not meet again in the body, we shall meet in the presence of the Lord, provided we live in this world according to His Will, and not according to our own.' He then took leave of me in as blithe and cheerful a frame of mind as if he had been a man in his best years ; and the same day he departed from Sweden for the last time.

"I asked Swedenborg once whether his explanations would be received in Christendom. 'About that,' said he, 'I can say nothing ; but I suppose that in their proper time they will be received, for otherwise the Lord would not have disclosed what has heretofore lain concealed.'

"He was never ill, except when temptations came over him, but he was frequently troubled with toothache. I came to him once on such an occasion, when he complained of a severe toothache, which had continued for several days. I recommended a common remedy for soothing the pain ; but he answered at once that his toothache was not caused by a diseased nerve, but by the influx of hell from hypocrites who tempted him, and who by correspondence caused this pain, which, he said, he knew would soon cease, and leave him.

"Respecting his temptations, I collected information from his modest servants, the old gardener and his wife, who told

me with sympathizing and compassionate words that Swedenborg often spoke aloud in his room, and was indignant when evil spirits were with him. This they could hear the more distinctly, because their room was near his. When he was asked why he had been so restless during the night, he answered that permission had been given to evil spirits to revile him, and that he spoke to and was indignant with them. It often happened that he wept bitterly, and called out with a loud voice, and prayed to the Lord that He would not leave him in the temptation which had come upon him. The words which he cried out were these: 'O Lord, help me! O Lord my God, do not forsake me!' When it was all over, and his people asked him about the cause of this lamentation, he said: 'God be praised! it is over now. You must not trouble yourselves about me; for whatever happens to me is permitted by the Lord, and He does not suffer me to be tempted more than He sees that I can bear.'

"Once it was very remarkable that, after such a lamentation, he lay down and did not rise from his bed for several days and nights. This caused his people much uneasiness; they talked with one another, and supposed that he had died from some great fright. They thought of having the door forced open, or of calling in his intimate friends. At last the man went to the window, and to his great joy saw that his master was still alive, for he turned himself in bed. The next day he rang the bell, and then the housekeeper went in and told him of her own and her husband's uneasiness at his condition; whereupon he said with a cheerful countenance that he was doing well, and that he did not need anything. She was satisfied with this answer, for neither of his servants dared to interrogate him, since they had the same opinion of him as the old clergyman in my parish; and they added that such a wise and learned man would never distress himself with work and temptations, if he did not know whence they came."

At another time Robsahm quotes the gardener's wife as saying, —

“‘I can see when he has spoken with heavenly spirits, for his face has then an expression of gentleness, cheerfulness, and contentment which is charming; but after he has conversed with evil spirits, he looks sad.’” . . .

“During the session of the Diet he was interested in hearing news from the House of Nobles, of which he was a member by virtue of his being the head of the Swedenborg family. He wrote several memorials; but when he saw that party-spirit and self-interest struggled for mastery, he went rarely to the House of Nobles. In his conversations with his friends he inveighed against the spirit of dissension among the members of the Diet; and in acting with a party he was never a party man, but loved truth and honesty in all he did.

“I asked Swedenborg whether in our times it was worth while to pay attention to dreams; upon which he answered that the Lord no longer at the present day makes revelations by dreams; but that, nevertheless, it may happen that one who understands correspondences may derive advantage from his dreams,—just as a person that is awake may examine his own state by comparing his own will with God’s commandments. . . .

“Whatever Swedenborg wrote was printed from his own manuscript, and he never needed the help of an amanuensis. His handwriting was difficult to read when he became older; but he said to me: ‘The Dutch printers read my handwriting as easily as the English do.’ There is one thing to be observed with regard to most of his spiritual writings, that the proof-sheets were corrected very badly, so that errata occur very often; the cause of this, he said, was that the printer had undertaken the proof-reading, as well as the printing.

“As Swedenborg in his younger days did not think of the work which was to occupy him in his more advanced years, it can easily be imagined that in his time he was not only a learned man, but also a polished gentleman; for a man of

such extensive learning, who by his books, his travels, and his knowledge of languages had acquired distinction both at home and abroad, could not fail to possess the manners and everything else which, in those so-called serious or sober times, caused a man to be honored and made him agreeable in society. He was accordingly, even in his old age, cheerful, sprightly, and agreeable in company; yet at the same time his countenance presented those uncommon features which are seen only in men of great genius."

To Robsahm's inquiry about the future condition of those who are beheaded, Swedenborg answered,—

"‘When a person who has become matured in wickedness is removed from the earth by the law and the axe, although to all appearance penitent, he still remains wicked to eternity, because his conversion is compulsory, and not brought about by his own free-will, as required by God. For unless his crimes cast him into prison, where he sees death impending, he will never direct his thoughts towards God, still less his heart, hardened by habit. And such a one, when he finds that he lives as before, rushes headlong into the practice of all those evil works which he did in the world, and quickly brings himself into hell, among the spirits with which he had been associated during his life on earth.

"‘It is quite different, however, with those who are executed on account of some crime which they had committed while in a state of intoxication, anger, or indignation, or from rashness, without any real intention of doing it. Such repent bitterly of what they have done, and if they do not confirm themselves against the Lord's commandments during the remainder of their life, they become after their death happy and blessed spirits.’"

Robsahm continues,—“When a certain clergyman died in Stockholm, who by his eloquence and his pathetic mode of preaching had always his church filled with hearers, I asked Swedenborg whether he was not in a blessed state. ‘This man,’ said he, ‘went straightway to hell, among the societies

of hypocrites, for he was spiritually minded only while in the pulpit ; at other times he was proud of his talents and of the success he had in the world : he was an inflated man. No, no,' he added ; 'there no dissimulation and no deceitful arts are of any avail ; for all these disappear with death, and man involuntarily shows himself to be either good, or else evil.'

"I know from experience that there is not a single word in all his writings which leads man away from the doing of God's will, and consequently from a sincere love of the neighbor ; there is contained, however, therein an entirely new system, which is opposed to the principal religions professed by men, and to all their sects, but which agrees with all of them in this particular, that blessedness and misery depend upon man's life in this world.

"All this Swedenborg has proved abundantly in his writings, and especially has he written against the dangerous doctrine of faith alone ; and if we in the history of the Church follow those who have been instrumental in establishing religions, we find that all religions, from the earliest to the latest times, have been instituted by well-meaning persons, and that afterwards they have been subverted partly by the ignorant and partly by cunning and crafty prelates. In conclusion, however, I earnestly desire that every one who reads Swedenborg's writings should do so with caution, and that he should rather remain in the faith he received in childhood, and which was often impressed on him with severity, and which very few among the professors of faith examine, than that he should from frivolity or from blind zeal revile what he cannot understand. For such persons read all the Prophets and the book of Revelation, where they understand nothing, with the same feeling of contempt with which they read Swedenborg's system, where, however, everything may be easily understood by him who does not amuse himself at the expense of truth, and who does not reject everything that does not agree with his own preconceived notions."

Robsahm's vivid picture of his friend may be supplemented by the slighter sketches of some of Swedenborg's visitors, with less intimate acquaintance. The royal librarian in Stockholm, Gjörwell, called on him in 1764 to request, for the Royal Library, a copy of the works he had lately published. His account of his visit to Swedenborg is simple, and pleasant to read:—

“I met him in the garden adjoining his house in the Södermalm [southern part of Stockholm], where he was engaged in tending his plants, attired in a simple garment. The house in which he lives is of wood; it is low, and looks like a garden-house; its windows also are in the direction of the garden. Without knowing me or the nature of my errand, he said, smiling: ‘Perhaps you would like to take a walk in the garden.’ I answered that I wished to have the honor of calling upon him and asking him, on behalf of the Royal Library, for his latest works, so that we might have a complete set, especially as we had the former parts he had left with Wilde, the royal secretary. ‘Most willingly,’ he answered; ‘besides, I had intended to send them there, as my purpose in publishing them has been to make them known, and to place them in the hands of intelligent people.’ I thanked him for his kindness, whereupon he showed them to me and took a walk with me in the garden.

“Although he is an old man, and gray hair protruded in every direction from under his wig, he walked briskly, was fond of talking, and spoke with a certain cheerfulness. His countenance was, indeed, thin and meagre, but cheerful and smiling. By and by he began of his own accord to speak of his views; and as it had been in reality my second purpose to hear them with my own ears, I listened to him with eager attention, not challenging any of his statements, but simply asking him questions, as if for my own enlightenment. The substance of his statements, and of what I drew from him by polite questions, consists mainly in what follows:—

“His doctrinal system of theology, which he in common

with other Christians bases upon our common revelation, the Sacred Scripture, consists principally in this : That faith alone is a pernicious doctrine, and that good works are the proper means for becoming better in time, and for leading a blessed life in eternity. That in order to acquire the ability or power to do good works, prayer to the Only God is required, and that man also must labor with himself, because God does not use compulsion with us, nor does He work any miracles for our conversion. As regards the rest, man must live in his appointed place, acquiring the same learning, and leading a life similar to that of other honest and modest persons who live temperately and piously. About the atonement and our Saviour, he said not a word. It is a pity I did not ask him about it. But his thoughts on this our fundamental article of faith may be inferred from his expression about faith alone."

Readers of Swedenborg will recognize this as a simple, clear, and true presentation of New-Church doctrine, as far as it goes. If the librarian had asked about our Saviour, he would have found that Swedenborg was thinking of Him all the time, as the Only God in His Humanity ; and he would have learned that the atonement is nothing else than the glorification of this Humanity, and our redemption thereby.

Gjörwell goes on to say, according to Swedenborg,—

"That God revealed Himself to him in May, 1744, while he was in London, and that up to that time God had prepared him by a thorough knowledge of all physical and moral powers in this world for the reception of the new revelation ; and ever since that time he has constantly and without interruption been in communion with God, whom he sees before his eyes like a sun. He speaks with angels and the departed, and knows whatever takes place in the other world, as well in heaven as in hell ; but *he does not know the future.*

"His mission consists in communicating this new light to the world ; and whoever is willing to accept it receives it.

The Lord also has granted him this revelation, that he may make it known to others, which he has done in Latin, the most universal language in the world. He alone has received this revelation, which also is a most particular gift, which he makes use of for the enlightenment of mankind. He who does not scorn this light, and who does not resist this revelation, receives it; and this revelation is living truth. Its object really is that a New Jerusalem is to be established among men; the meaning of which is that a New Church is at hand, about the nature of which, and the way to enter it, his writings really treat.

"About all this he spoke with a perfect conviction, laying particular stress upon these words: 'All this I see and know without becoming the subject of any visions, and without being a fanatic; but when I am alone, my soul is as it were out of the body, and in the other world: in all respects I am in a visible manner there, as I am here. But when I think of what I am about to write, and while I am in the act of writing, I enjoy a perfect inspiration [*så äger jag en full komlig inspiration*]; for otherwise it would be my own; but now I know for certain that what I write is the living truth of God.'"

That the word "inspiration" is not here used in the sense of dictation, or as used in reference to the writers of the Scriptures, but in the sense of clear enlightenment of the reason, is certain from Swedenborg's constant teaching, already quoted, that this is the only kind of inspiration granted by the Lord at this day.

The Rev. Nicholas Collin, in 1820, rector of the quaint old Swedish Church in Philadelphia, the same that was built in 1700 under Bishop Swedberg's charge, lived, when a young man, three years in Stockholm, at a time when "Swedenborg was a great object of public attention in that metropolis, and his extraordinary character was a frequent topic of discussion. Not seldom he appeared in public, and mixed in private circles; therefore sufficient opportunities were given

to make observations on him." Mr. Collin was not a follower of Swedenborg, but obligingly gave public information about him on several occasions. Of a visit of his own, he writes as follows :—

"In the summer of 1766 I waited on him at his house, introducing myself, with an apology for the freedom I took, assuring him that it was not in the least from youthful presumption (I was then twenty), but from a strong desire of conversing with a character so celebrated. He received me very kindly. It being early in the afternoon, delicate coffee, without eatables, was served, agreeably to the Swedish custom : he was also, like pensive men in general, fond of this beverage. We conversed for nearly three hours, principally on the nature of human souls and their states in the invisible world, discussing the principal theories of psychology by various authors,—among them the celebrated Dr. Wallerius, late professor of Natural Theology at Upsal. He asserted positively, as he often does in his works, that he had intercourse with spirits of deceased persons. I presumed, therefore, to request of him, as a great favor, to procure me an interview with my brother, who had departed this life a few months before, a young clergyman officiating in Stockholm and esteemed for his devotion, erudition, and virtue. He answered that, God having for wise and good purposes separated the world of spirits from ours, a communication is never granted without cogent reasons, and asked what my motives were. I confessed that I had none besides gratifying brotherly affection and an ardent wish to explore scenes so sublime and interesting to a serious mind. He replied that my motives were good, but not sufficient ; that if any important spiritual or temporal concern of mine had been the case, he would then have solicited permission from those angels who regulate such matters."

In explanation of this last sentence, which was called in question, as hardly in accordance with any of Swedenborg's teachings, Mr. Collin said that it did not imply any worship

of angels, but only a request to them, as agents under Divine command. It is much more usual with Swedenborg to ask favors, even as simple as this, from the Lord. It is his constant habit to refer everything to the permission or grace of the Lord, even when it is plain to see that the favor is granted, not specially, but in the regular course of the Divine Providence, and perhaps through ordinary angelic or human agency : such is his delight to perceive and confess the hand of the Lord in everything ! And yet it is entirely in accordance with his teachings that such matters, and all matters in which the Lord can use the faculties of angels, are intrusted to them, acting under enlightenment from Him.

In another letter Mr. Collin said,—

“Swedenborg was universally esteemed for his various erudition in mathematics, mineralogy, etc., and for his probity, benevolence, and general virtue. Being very old when I saw him, he was thin and pale ; but he still retained traces of beauty in his physiognomy, and a dignity in his tall and erect stature.”

To our good friend, Mr. Zina Hyde, Mr. Collin said,—

“Swedenborg was of a stature a little above the common size, of very perfect form, erect and easy in his carriage, with a placid expression of dignity beaming from his countenance ; he was affable in his manners, easy of access, and always ready to converse freely on subjects relating to either world, but singularly unapt to obtrude his ideas on others, either in conversation or by his writings, though firm and unwavering with regard to the truth of his relations. His history from very early life was reputed to be such as evinced great purity, as well as strength, of mental character.” Speaking of the affair of the Queen of Sweden, which her librarian had told him from her mouth, and of other similar occurrences, Mr. Collin said that he believed “no one at Stockholm presumed to doubt of his having some kind of supernatural intercourse with the spiritual world in all these cases,” and this, he said, was not strange, “for at that time

occasional communication between this and the invisible world was believed to exist by many of the most learned men in Sweden."

Dr. J. F. I. Tafel, with his friend the Rev. Mr. Moser, was told by Professor Scherer, of Tübingen University, who had resided at Stockholm during Swedenborg's time as secretary to an embassy, that "in Stockholm, in all companies, very much was said about the spirit-seer, Swedenborg, and wonderful things were related respecting his intercourse with spirits and angels. But the judgment pronounced concerning him was various. Some gave full credit to his visions, others passed them by as incomprehensible, and others rejected them as fanatical; but he himself had never been able to believe them. Swedenborg, however, on account of his excellent character, was universally held in high estimation."

Among other remarkable things Professor Scherer related that "Swedenborg was one evening in company in Stockholm, when, after his information about the world of spirits had been heard with the greatest attention, they put him to the proof as to the credibility of his extraordinary spiritual communications. The test was this: he should state which of the company would die first. Swedenborg did not refuse to answer this question, but after some time, in which he appeared to be in profound and silent meditation, he quite openly replied: 'Olof Olofsohn will die to-morrow morning at forty-five minutes past four o'clock.' By this predictive declaration, which was pronounced by Swedenborg with all confidence, the company were placed in anxious expectation, and a gentleman who was a friend of Olof Olofsohn resolved to go on the following morning, at the time mentioned by Swedenborg, to the house of Olofsohn, to see whether Swedenborg's prediction was fulfilled. On the way thither he met the well-known servant of Olofsohn, who told him that his master had just then died: a fit of apoplexy had seized him, and had suddenly put an end to his life. Upon which the gentleman, through the evidence of the

death which really occurred, was convinced. At the same time this particular circumstance also attracted attention : the clock in Olofsohn's dwelling apartment stopped at the very minute in which he had expired, and the hand pointed to the time."

A peculiar and instructive answer was given by Swedenborg to a question propounded by a foreign minister in 1771, in the following terms :—

"It is hoped that by means of Monsieur de Swedenborg information may be obtained of what has become of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld, named John William, who was lost in the year 1745, without any one having the least knowledge of his fate. Neither his age nor anything else respecting his person has been communicated."

Swedenborg replied in writing,—

"No one can find out anything about this, since the departed themselves do not know in what manner they died or perished in the world ; for death to them is not death, but an entrance into the other life and a continuation of the former. They also fully believe and think that there is no death at all ; wherefore, if any one is asked about his disease in the world, it seems to him as if he was asked about a thing which has not happened. Besides, it is difficult to meet with any one who departed this life twenty-seven years ago ; for he is then firmly established in some society where it is difficult for me to enter. Should I ask the angels on this subject, they have no such knowledge at all, and as to interrogating the Lord Himself concerning it, it is too small a matter."

On the other hand, as by accident, we occasionally get from Swedenborg's intercourse with the other world an interesting personal or historical hint. In his "Diary," under date of December 13, 1759, he notes that Louis XIV., who reigned in France from 1643 to 1715, came near him in spirit that evening, and went down some steps in front, then stopped, and said that there he found Versailles, just as it had been in his time. It seemed then that the King became

abstracted, as in sleep, and all kept silence about him for some two hours, when he aroused as if out of sleep. Speaking with Swedenborg, he said that he had been with his great-grandson, Louis XV., and urged him in various ways to desist altogether from pushing the Bull Unigenitus,—which, at the instigation of the Jesuits, he had hitherto tried to force upon the Parliament and people.

Accordingly, for reasons unknown to history, Louis XV. thereafter did nothing more to support the Bull; and a few years later he expelled the Jesuits from France.

Swedenborg was cautious about private conversations, especially with unknown women who called to make inquiries, and required the presence of his servants or a friend, and the conversation to be in Swedish. Bishop Halenius, a successor of Bishop Swedberg, visiting him, and the conversation turning on sermons, Swedenborg said to him: "You spread falsities in yours." On this the Bishop asked the servant to withdraw; but Swedenborg told her to stay, and went on to reprove the Bishop for his injustice and avarice, saying: "there is already prepared for you a place in hell; but I predict to you that in a few months you will be attacked by a severe illness, during which the Lord will seek to convert you. If you will then open your heart to His holy influences, your conversion will be accomplished. Write me then, and ask me for my theological writings, and I will send them to you." After a few months an officer of the Bishop's province called upon Swedenborg. "How is Bishop Halenius?" Swedenborg asked. "He has been very ill," he replied, "but he has now recovered, and is altogether a different man. He is kind, benevolent, full of righteousness, and returns threefold, and sometimes fourfold, what he had before acquired by unrighteous means." From that time the Bishop was "one of the warmest friends of the doctrines of the Lord's New Church, and he openly declared that the theological writings of Swedenborg were the most precious treasures of humanity."¹

¹ Pernety.

Pleasantly, a lady of Linköping writes to the Rev. R. L. Tafel, in 1869, that the daughter of this same Bishop Halenius told her as follows :—

“When quite a child she and her brothers came up to Stockholm, in the year 1767, in order to be present at their father’s funeral. One day [after the funeral] the children were asked to dine with one of their father’s friends, who lived in the southern part of the town. While walking up Hornsgatan they were overtaken by a violent shower of rain, from which they sought refuge in the hall of a house. Here an elderly gentleman came cheerfully towards them, and told them that they were very welcome. This gentleman was Emanuel Swedenborg. And when the elder brother, who was then a mere boy, stepped forward to tell him why they entered his house, and that they were the children of Bishop Halenius, Swedenborg interrupted the lad by saying, ‘I know it already, for your father has just been with me, and told me that you were coming.’ He then asked them to step into his room ; and after conversing with him about an hour, until the rain stopped, they continued on their way.”

Another elderly lady said that,—

“When four years old she took a walk one Sunday afternoon with her parents from Kungsbaken to Swedensborg’s property in Hornsgatan, in order to visit his garden. This was open to the public, but not to children whose manners displeased this remarkable man. At the entrance to the garden, the gardener gave the family to understand that they could not enter, on account of the child’s being with them. But Swedenborg, who was at some distance from them in one of the garden walks, called out to the gardener to open the gate, as the child was so strictly trained to obedience that she would do no harm. The little girl thought this remark quite natural, because she knew it to be true ; but later in life she wondered how Swedenborg could have known it, as her family lived at a great distance, in the northern portion of the town, and was not in the habit of visiting the southern portion.”

CHAPTER XVI.

HOME LIFE OF SWEDENBORG.

STOCKHOLM is built on a number of small islands, at the junction of the Lake Mœlar with the Baltic. The islands are joined by thirteen short bridges to each other and to the mainland, north and south. On the islands are the palace, the cathedral, the bank, and other public buildings. But most of the residences are on the mainland, in the Nörrmalm, or northern suburb, and in the Södermalm, or southern suburb. The Nörrmalm slopes gradually back from the shore ; but the Södermalm "rises in bold, abrupt cliffs, where the white houses nestle beautifully among shading trees."¹

In the Södermalm, nestling among his own beautiful lime-trees, was Swedenborg's humble one-story, gambrel-roofed dwelling, quietly withdrawn, with its little red stable and larger yellow plant-house, to the eastern end of the enclosure, leaving about an acre for the garden, upon which the house faced.

In the garden was the chief attraction of the place. This was laid out formally, in accordance with the taste of the times, with straight border paths and two crossing at right angles in the middle. At their crossing a rustic summer-house was placed, with four doors opening in four directions on the walks, and made to fold back across the corners of the room, so that, when they stood open, they made of it an octagon. Opposite this summer-house, against the high board-fence which separated the garden from the street, was another

¹ *Bremner's Excursions*, i. 342.

summer-house, with three doors opening on the paths in front and on the two sides. Opposite the front entrance appeared another door. On opening this there was seen another garden, the image of the one already traversed, seen in a mirror, behind which was the wall of the building and the board-fence. From a third summer-house, which we understand to have been at the middle of the west side, a passage led into a neat, retired library, where Swedenborg sat and wrote in peace, save when interrupted by friendly visitors, for whose pleasure he had built the summer-houses, and also a curious maze, or labyrinth,—his own pleasure being in his fruits and flowers. Among his letters and accounts from Holland we find items of rare bulbs and seeds and plants, shipped by his correspondents. In an old almanac, for 1750, are found his entries of the days on which he planted certain choice auriculas, pinks, etc., the time they bloomed, and what seed he saved from them. Certain quaint old box-trees, curiously trimmed and trained in Holland, of whose importation we have an account, were still to be seen a few years ago. Of the gardener and his wife who had the care of these premises we have found frequent mention. A pretty story is told of them in a Swedish book by Dr. Wetterbey, called *Altartaflan*,—Altar-pictures, of which the Rev. R. L. Tafel gives us the translation. A young man sees pictures, or visions, which his father explains. Says Alfred, the son,—

“I saw a large peasant-house, with a dark, pointed roof; under the roof there were suspended long poles with bread, as is the custom in Swedish peasant houses. It seemed to me, however, as if it were not a common peasant’s house, although the furniture, the open fire-place with the burning logs, surrounded by men carving wood and women spinning, indicated that it was really a peasant’s house. An old man was sitting on a three-legged stool, and seemed to be resting himself, surrounded by his servants. Suddenly a young man entered the house, went towards the old man, reached out his hand to him and said,—‘Do you know, father, Jesper has been ordained a priest?’ The old man folded his hands and said,—‘May God grant that this was done in a blessed hour; Jesper has a difficult office.’ Then this vision disappeared. Soon another took its place; and I saw two pic-

tures. In one of them was a venerable, grave, but mild man, dressed in a bishop's garb, and laying his hands upon the curly head of a boy. The boy looked up, with his clear, penetrating eyes, as if he had asked something to which he expected an answer. There was inspiration in his look. In the other picture there was a peasant, who went over his field sowing; and at one end of the field there sat a boy reading a book. But soon these pictures disappeared, and I saw nothing more."

The father looked smilingly on his son during this narration, and at its close he said,—

"This is a legend from olden times. If I am not mistaken, you have been at our old homestead, with Daniel Isaksson, in Sweden, near Fahlun. I know this well, partly from our family history, as it has been told me, and partly from other sources. You see, Alfred, Daniel Isaksson was an honest miner,—half peasant and half miner; he was joint owner of several blasting furnaces, which were run at common expense, according to the old mining usage which gave each of the stockholders the blasting of a certain number of days. The young farmer who came in and reached out his hand to the old man was my grandfather, Isak Danielsson, and Jesper, who became a priest, was his brother,—Jesper Swedberg. You saw him afterwards as a bishop, and the inquiring boy at his knees, with the look of inspiration, was Emanuel Swedenborg. The peasant sowing was again my grandfather, and the boy who sat at one end of the field was my father; he also became a priest, and called himself Danielius, which I have changed into Danieli."

"We are then of the same stock as the noble seer," said Alfred.

"Yes, Alfred. When strange thoughts pass through my soul, and I speak as it were not from my own mind, then I think to myself,—'This is in our family.' There is something that has not yet been cleared up in the heart of our family, a sort of family disorder. I cannot call it by any other name, for it is something so uncommon. But enough of this, Alfred. There are strange thoughts among them, and presentiments which are quite surprising: but 'This is in our family.'"

Alfred smiled and said,—

"It is in the whole human family."

"Yes, certainly, there is a great deal in man of which we know nothing; there are faculties in him that none of us suspect. So, for instance, the savage in Africa sees the water flowing deep under the surface of the earth; he says,—'Here is water;' and on digging far down it is found. This is neither sight, nor smell, nor hearing; and yet it is some kind of sense, however it may be called; and it is a sense of which we know nothing in Europe, and in the absence of

which a civilized and enlightened human being dies of thirst, a few feet from the spring that might save him."

"But, father, did you never in your youth see Swedenborg and talk with him?" said Alfred.

"No, my son; only once during the lifetime of this remarkable man was my father in Stockholm; but Swedenborg was at that time in England, where he frequently resided, and we did not meet him. We visited the house which he owned in the Södermalm. I was then a mere boy, but I recollect it as well as if it had happened only to-day. My fancy was very much excited, and I expected to find the place where this wonderful man resided something between a church and a burying-vault.

"My father, although he was an Orthodox priest, had nevertheless also a tendency to mysticism. But he labored as much as possible against this bias of his nature, and in his anxiety to overcome it he went further than he otherwise would have done. In consequence of this, he always described Swedenborg to me as a sort of visionary, and his doctrine as thoroughly un-Christian and without any foundation. Yet, in spite of all this, I noticed that these prejudices were merely a thin veil, under which there lay concealed a feeling of deep veneration for this uncommonly gifted man. Children generally have this faculty of seeing through the shell to the kernel. And it is this which often renders them familiar and unrestrained in the company of a stern old man, and in tumbling up his gray locks; when, on the other hand, they will hide away in a corner when a smooth-tongued courteous man of the world desires to flatter them. We can always rest assured that children will gather around a man who loves them, though he may not have expressed his fondness by a single word. In short, I saw through my good old father, how his words belied his inner feeling; and this contradiction increased my curiosity to know something about our absent kinsman, who it seemed to me was himself a sort of spirit-being.

"But he was not at home; the little building in which he used to live was in the rear of a large garden, full of berry-bushes and fruit-trees. How simple and unassuming was this house! Nothing like the enchanted castle in the Arabian Nights, which I had pictured to myself. Instead of the castle, I found a one-storied dwelling-house, with a few dark rooms; and instead of an enchanted dwarf there came out a cheerful, friendly little woman, who asked whether we wished to see the Assessor's room?

"When the good old woman learned that we were distantly related to her Assessor, the band of her tongue was loosed, and she related to us a little story, which I have never seen in print, and perhaps better than anything else characterizes Swedenborg as a man. 'Yes,' said

the little old woman, 'people judge without seeing, and this almost cost me and Andersson our places. You see my old man who goes yonder, raking the flower-beds: it almost cost us our whole happiness.'

"How so?" asked my father.

"You know, dear Pastor, there were so many among our friends who said to me,—“You ought not to serve in Swedenborg's house, for he is no Christian,” they said. Now the truth is, that then, as now, we thought ever so much of our Assessor, but when I heard that he had not the true faith which leads to blessedness, I began to doubt whether it was right to serve in his house. It was a hard struggle, for I thought as much of the Assessor as of my own father; and so I lay many a night weeping bitterly that the Assessor was not a Christian, and praying for the salvation of his soul. I really fretted myself ill out of mere sorrow, for you see my friends worried me so much, and insisted that I should leave the house of this heathen, who did not believe in Christ,—for so they said. At last Andersson noticed that I no longer ate or drank, and wanted to know the cause, and begged so hard that I told him all. Yes; Andersson is a good man, and he always believes me rather than himself; and so he also began to worry.'

"But, if I should tell the whole story in her words," said Danieli, "it would make it too long, and so I shall relate more briefly what happened.

"One day the old man and the old woman, the modest gardener-folks, dressed in their holiday suits, entered Swedenborg's silent study, the room with the brown panel-paintings, the gable windows, and a view out on the lilac bushes. Swedenborg sat with his head resting upon both hands, poring over a large book. Astonished at the unusual noise, he raised his head and looked towards the door. There stood the good gardener-folks, though but the middle of the week, both dressed in their holiday clothes, bowing and curtsying. On Swedenborg's grave but cheerful countenance there played an inquiring smile.

"Why dressed up so, Andersson and Margaret?" he said, "What do you want?"

"This was not in truth easy to say, and, instead of an answer, Margaret began to cry, and her husband crushed his hat into a thousand wrinkles, and in his heart wished himself more than a thousand miles away.

"Is there any care that lies upon your hearts, any distress which has suddenly come over you?" said Swedenborg,—“Then speak out plainly, and, with God's help, it will all go well again."

"Yes," at last said the old gardener, "yes, we wish to leave the Assessor's service."

"Swedenborg seemed surprised. 'Leave me! and why?' he asked,

with his penetrating, friendly look, which pierced them to their very heart; 'I thought, as we were growing old together, we should to our very end remain faithful to one another, and never separate in this life.'

"'Yes, so also we thought ourselves,' burst out the housewife, almost overcome with tears; 'for thirty years we have served you, and I thought it would be God's pleasure that we should die in your garden, and under your eyes; but, but —'

"'Speak out, woman; what lies so heavily upon your heart? I know that both of you think a great deal of me. Is it not so?'

"'Yes, before God it is so,' said both of them together.

"'Speak out then,' said Swedenborg with a smile, 'and then we may be able to help the matter.'

"The housewife, whose strong emotion gave her courage to speak, and words to express her thoughts, at last began: 'Yes, people say we ought not to serve you any longer, because you are not a right Christian.'

"'Nothing else, my good woman,' said Swedenborg quietly; 'nothing else? Well, let the world judge so; but why should you think so?'

"'You see you never go to Church; for years you have never been inside St. Mary's Church.'

"'Have you never read,' replied Swedenborg solemnly, 'that, where two or three are gathered together in the Lord's name, there is His Church and meeting-place? Do you believe that it is the steeple and copper roof which makes a holy place of it? Do you believe that it is holy for any one else but him who has in his heart Christ's Church? Do you believe that it is the walls, organ, and pulpit, which constitute its holiness?'

"'No, no; I know that well enough.'

"'Well, then, here at home, in this room, in the arbor, in the garden, wherever a man or spirit lives within or without space and time, wherever a prayer is either thought or read, wherever a voice of thanksgiving is sent up to Him who is the Giver of all good, there is His Church; and it is consequently here where I live sheltered from the world.'

"Both the faithful servants bowed their heads and said,—'But this is not the way of the world.'

"'The way of the world, my friends?' replied Swedenborg, 'I suppose the way of the world is Christian, is it not?'

"'Yes, it is.'

"'In name it is, but not in spirit and in truth. Faith without works is a dead faith: a flower which does not live is nothing but lifeless dust; and faith which does not live in every action of man is a dead

faith,—it is no faith at all. Here, my friends, see what this Christian world really does. They call, indeed, upon Him, the only Son, in their times of need, but they forget both His teaching and His life. Like an obstinate child who despises warning, they rush into all manner of lusts, into pride and wickedness, which are like a thin, frail covering over an abyss; and over this yawning abyss they scoff at their teacher, and act foolishly and madly until this covering breaks. Then they call out for help, but in vain, for they have long since forfeited it; sometimes they are dragged up again, but in their foolish pride they let go the Saving Hand, they spurn the healing repentance, and continue their course of vain talk and idle sport. So does the Christian world, and they think that all that is necessary for them is to have a priest to speak to them a few hours in the week about God and the Saviour; and they do not think that any more is required of them than to hear and to forget. They therefore believe that it is outward gesture, the singing of psalms, and the tones of the organ, together with the empty sound of recited prayers, which penetrate to the Lord in heaven. Truly when the people prostrate themselves in the churches, then it is the voice of a few only that penetrates to the Lord.

“Let me tell you something. To-day there was a little child sitting in the street, a little blind girl, who folded her little hands upon her lap, and turned her darkened eyes towards heaven; and when I saw her, and asked her, ‘What makes you look so happy, although you are blind?’—the little girl said, ‘I am thinking of God, our Father, who will some day take me to Him, and show me all His splendor.’ Truly, my good people, it was only at the corner of the street that she sat, yet I took off my hat, and bowed my head, for I knew that God was near, and that this was a holy place.

“No, there is a worm gnawing at the kernel of Christianity, although its shell is whole. Charity is the kernel, and the outward forms are the shell. Where do you see charity in this uncharitable world? As long as violence prevails and rules, as long as selfishness and avarice oppress mankind, as long as earthly happiness is the goal which we endeavor to reach, so long the world is not Christian. But when men at all times and everywhere recognize that they are in God’s Presence and under His eyes; when each of their actions is the reflection of His eternal love and of His example; when their goal is placed beyond the reach of time, and not here in the dust,—then only are men Christians. Do you know, my friends, what I have done? Nothing else than what was formerly done in Palestine. When the Christians were on the point of giving way, then the standard was thrown beyond, as a goal for them to follow, and thither they pressed over to the other side, and as they rushed they conquered. So also

have I set up the goal for mankind, not only for their thoughts, but also for their deeds, in another world, so as to let them know that it is not enough for them to gather themselves together, but they need also to struggle. Such, then, is my faith. If I believe more than others, I certainly do not believe less. And now, my friends, look back upon those thirty years during which you have followed me almost daily with your eyes, and then judge whether it is I or others who are Christian. Judge for yourselves. I submit myself to your judgment, and then do what you deem to be right.'

"He beckoned with his hand and they went away; and then quietly, as if nothing had happened, he continued his reading.

"The next day they stood again, in their week-day clothes, in the presence of their master, who asked them with a friendly smile,— 'Well, how did the examination turn out?'

" 'Oh, master Assessor,' said both of them, 'we looked for a single word, for a single action, which was not in agreement with what the Lord had commanded us, yet we could not find a single one.'

" 'Very well,' said Swedenborg; 'but it is not quite so; many thoughts have been, and many an action has been, not perfectly straight; yet I have tried to do as well as I could. And as a child, who in the beginning spells out his words, and stumbles often before he can read, provided he goes to work lovingly and cheerfully and strives hard to do better, is loved by his father, so also it may have been with me; at least I pray and hope that it may be so. But you will remain with me?'

" 'Yes, master Assessor, until our death.'

" 'Thank you, my friends; I knew it would be so. Let people say what they please about my teachings, but do you judge them by my life: if they agree, then all is right; but if there is the least disagreement between them, then one of the two must be wrong.'

"When the little old woman had finished her story, which she had told after the manner of her people, by constantly repeating 'said the Assessor,' and 'said I,' her eyes were glistening with emotion, and she added,— 'God, indeed, must have forsaken us when He allowed us to go astray so far as to suspect our own Assessor of not being a Christian.'

"The good old woman took us through the garden, which was decked in its greatest autumnal splendor, and was loaded with berries and fruits; and as we were walking along, with a side glance at me, she said that the Assessor never allowed children in his garden; 'but sometimes,' she added, 'he lets one or the other slip in, but not before he has looked at him and has said, — "Let the child pass, he will not take anything without leave,"— and he has never made any mistake. This he sees from their eyes.'"

From these simple friends who made Swedenborg's home in Stockholm, let us turn to those who served him in a similar way the last few months of his life in London.

Richard Shearsmith, of Coldbath fields, was a respectable wig-maker, with whom Swedenborg had lodged for some two years on his previous stay in London. On the arrival of the vessel in which he sailed from Holland in 1771, Swedenborg took a coach and directed the driver to Mr. Shearsmith's, Great Bath Street. Mr. Shearsmith was just going out on business, when he heard the foreigner's voice calling from the coach-window to the driver,—“Dat be he! Dat be he!” The coach was stopped, and Swedenborg was welcomed into the house. But when he told his errand, that he wished to renew his lodgings there, he learned that his rooms were then occupied by another family. Singularly enough, however, as soon as the family heard of Swedenborg's wish, they immediately made way for him, though without previous acquaintance. It was a place that the old gentleman found himself at home in, for the reason that there was peace in the house. He had come upon it in the first instance when in search of a former landlord, who had left the neighborhood. Inquiring at another place he declined to lodge there, frankly saying that there was no harmony in the house. As frankly the good woman admitted the fact and recommended the Shearsmiths, where he himself, according to Mrs. Shearsmith, became “a blessing to the house, for they had harmony and good business while he was with them.” Mr. Shearsmith at first was alarmed about his lodger, “by reason of his talking night and day,” sometimes while writing, and sometimes standing in the door-way, as if holding a conversation with some one entering or departing. Here, as at home, “he had no particular regard for times or seasons, days or nights; only taking rest when nature required it. He did not indulge in needless gratifications. He went not to any place of worship during his abode with Mr. Shearsmith. He did not want money. . . . He lay some weeks in a trance, without

any sustenance, and came to himself again. This was not long before his death. He seldom or never complained of any bodily pain, but was attacked before his death with a kind of paralytic stroke. . . . The dress that he generally wore when he went out to visit, was a suit of black velvet, made after an old fashion, a pair of long ruffles, a curious hilted sword, and a gold-headed cane. He ate little or no animal food, only a few eels sometimes. His chief sustenance was cakes, tea, and coffee made exceedingly sweet. His drink was water. He took a great deal of snuff. . . . His hair was not dark, but approaching to a pale auburn. His eyes were gray, approaching to brown.¹ He wore a wig, as was the custom of his time." Whether this description of his person is from Mr. Shearsmith, or from the lady who gives other particulars on his authority, is not clear, nor important.

A certain professor of religion objected to Mr. Shearsmith that Swedenborg could not be a good Christian, because he did not pay particular attention to the Sabbath-day, forgetting altogether the day of the week, in his spiritual labors, and yet glad when reminded of it. To this Mr. Shearsmith replied,—"To a good man, like Swedenborg, every day of his life is a Sabbath." From the first day of his coming to reside at this house, "to the last day of his life, he always conducted himself in the most rational, prudent, pious, and Christian-like manner."

It was near Christmas when Swedenborg had the paralytic stroke "which deprived him of his speech and occasioned his lying in a lethargic state for three weeks and upwards," during which he took no nourishment, but a little tea and cold water occasionally. Then "he recovered his speech and health a little, and ate toast and drank tea and coffee, as usual." From that time, however, he was visited by only a few friends and always seemed unwilling to see company. About a month before he died he told Mrs. Shearsmith on what particular day he should die. "About a fortnight or three

¹ Compare p. 341.

weeks before he died, he received the sacrament in bed from the hands of a foreign clergyman, and enjoyed a sound mind, memory, and understanding to the last hour of his life." About five o'clock on Sunday, March 29, 1772, he asked the time. In expectation of the day he had been "pleased as if he were going to have a holiday, to go to some merry-making;" and now, when he learned the hour, he said,— "Dat be good, me tank you; God bless you,"— and in about ten minutes "he heaved a gentle sigh and expired in the most tranquil manner."

We have already learned from his friends, Hartley, Messiter, and Ferelius, of the brief conversations Swedenborg held with them in these last days. There was then in London an eminent man, whose own life's work bore a strange and unknown relation to that of Swedenborg, and to whom Swedenborg sent a note, in the month of February, to the effect that he had been informed in the world of spirits of his desire to converse with him, and that he would be happy to see him if he would favor him with a visit. This note John Wesley received in company, and "frankly acknowledged that he had been very strongly impressed with a desire to see and converse with Swedenborg, and that he had never mentioned the desire to any one." He wrote in reply that he was then busily engaged in preparing for a six months' circuit, but would do himself the pleasure of waiting upon Swedenborg soon after his return to London. To this Swedenborg replied that the visit proposed would be too late, as he should go into the world of spirits on the 29th day of the next month, never more to return. Mr. Wesley left London on the first of March and was gone some months; when he returned, it was quite too late to see Swedenborg.

Friendly Swedes in London took charge of the funeral services, at which their pastor Ferelius officiated, and Swedenborg's earthly remains were interred in a threefold coffin in the vault of the Swedish Church, in Prince's Square, Ratcliffe Highway, London. Could all have been gathered

together who at that day revered Swedenborg as their teacher and guide, the little Church might have held them, but the company would have been honorable in its intelligence and position and private worth. Could all be together who a hundred years later would have rejoiced to gather for such a testification of their love, there are single churches in the world that might perhaps have held them, though none that could begin to hold the followers of Wesley. A hundred years yet to come, we will not say that the relative numbers will be changed, but, while the growth of the New Jerusalem will be steadily advancing, we believe that throughout the Methodist Church, and all other Protestant Churches, the name of Swedenborg will be revered above that of all human teachers.

On the 7th of October, after the death of Swedenborg, a Eulogy was pronounced upon him in the Great Hall of the House of Nobles, at Stockholm, in the name of the Royal Academy of Sciences, by Samuel Sandels, Counsellor of the Royal College of Mines, and member of the Academy. Of this Eulogy, we copy the following passages, using the translation of R. L. Tafel : —

“GENTLEMEN,— Allow me on the present occasion to direct your thoughts, not to a distant or wearisome subject, but to one which it is both a duty and a pleasure for us to consider ; namely, the memory of a noble man celebrated alike for his virtues and the depth of his knowledge, who was one of the oldest members of this academy, and whom we all knew and loved.

“The feeling of affection and high esteem which we all entertained for the late Assessor of the Royal College of Mines, EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, assures me that you will love to hear me speak of him ; and happy shall I be if I can fulfil your desire, and pronounce his eulogy as he deserves. But if, as artists declare, there are some countenances of which it is difficult to give an exact likeness, how much more difficult will it be to do justice to a vast and sublime genius, who never knew either repose or fatigue ; who, occupied with sciences the most profound, was long engaged with researches into the secrets of nature, but in later years applied all his efforts to unveil still greater mysteries ; who, in respect to certain principles of knowledge, went his own separate way, but never lost sight of the

principles of morality and the fear of God; who was possessed of remarkable power, even in the decline of his age, and boldly tried to find how far the power of thought could be stretched; and who, during the whole of this time, has furnished materials for a great variety of thoughts and judgments upon himself, differing from one another as much as do the faculties of the men who think and judge; . . . who worked so unremittingly and so zealously in the cause of knowledge and enlightenment, that, with the single exception perhaps of his desire to penetrate too deeply, there is nothing whatever in his whole character with which we can find fault."

After describing Swedenborg's parentage, his youth, his studies, his appointment by Charles XII., for his merits, to an important place while yet a young man, and his early publications, Sandels proceeds,—

"We shall have now to follow him in many long journeys, undertaken for various purposes and pursuits, and at times in ways where it is easy to go astray; and in order that in his society no doubt or uncertainty may arise in your minds, which often happens when one has not fully examined the character and disposition of another, picture to yourselves an harmonious development of memory, understanding, and judgment; imagine these qualities united with an intense desire of the heart, which can only be satisfied by the ceaseless endeavor to become profoundly learned in philosophy, in almost all parts of mathematics, in natural history, physics, chemistry, in anatomy, and even in theology, and to acquire proficiency in the Oriental and European languages; keep in mind also the power of habit, which in a certain manner acts in accordance with reason, certainly in respect to the order of thought; and remember that our thoughts when too much engaged with, and centred upon, abstract subjects, are wont to carry us away in the same direction, and sometimes too fast,—especially when accompanied with an ardent imagination,—so that we are unable properly to discriminate the objects that come before us. Add to all this a genuinely good disposition, proved by the Rules of Life which I found among Mr. Swedenborg's manuscripts in more than one place, and which he wrote down for his own use: *First*, diligently to read and meditate upon the Word of God; *Secondly*, to be content under the dispensations of God's Providence; *Thirdly*, to observe a propriety of behavior, and preserve the conscience pure; *Fourthly*, to obey what is commanded, to attend faithfully to one's office and other duties, and in addition to make oneself useful to society in general.

"Any one who says that I have here presented any other than the manifest and truthful features of Swedenborg's inner being, must be

prejudiced either on the one side or on the other. Let such a one consider more closely what I have already said, and what I have still further to say."

After dwelling at some length on his various labors in science, in engineering, in the duties of the College of Mines, and lastly in the publication of his *Opera Philosophica*, Sandels continues,—

"The Consistory of the University and the Society of Sciences at Upsal felt proud at having previously recognized the merits of our countryman, and at having publicly testified the high esteem in which they held him; for the Consistory had, in 1724, invited him, 'for the advantage of youth, and as an ornament of the university,' to apply for the professorship of the higher mathematics, which had become vacant by the death of Professor Nils Celsius, but which invitation he thankfully declined; and the Society of Sciences had admitted him into the number of its members in 1729. The learned abroad also hastened to send him marks of their esteem. The Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg by a letter of invitation, dated December 17, 1734, desired to admit him among its corresponding members. Christian Wolff, and other foreign men of learning, addressed him by letter, in order to obtain his ideas on subjects which they found it difficult to fathom. The editors of the *Acta Eruditorum* in Leipsic, in which the contents of the works of the learned are discussed, and impartial opinions pronounced upon them, found in his work a rich store with which to adorn their pages. Nor has time deprived this work of any of its value. The authors of the magnificent *Descriptions des Arts et Métiers*, which is now in course of publication in France, thought so highly of that part of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* which covers the same ground as their own publication, that they translated the second part, which treats of iron and steel, and inserted it entire in their collection. Our Royal Academy, also, when it was founded, hastened to enroll among its first members a man who already held so distinguished a rank in other learned societies.

"I have hitherto spoken only of one part of Swedenborg's works; but the others take a different direction. Let us therefore dwell a little longer on the former. These works are unmistakably proofs that his desire for learning extended in all directions, and that he by preference occupied himself with studies which cannot be mastered without mature judgment and profound thought. No one can charge him with having wished to shine in borrowed plumes, or with rearranging and giving a different coloring to the work of others, and then publishing it under his own name; for everywhere we perceive

that he did not depend upon others, but followed his own thoughts, and often made observations and applications which cannot be found in any other author of his times. Nor can he, like the majority of those who make it a point to acquire encyclopædic knowledge, be charged with having remained on the surface only; for he applied his whole strength in attempting to fathom the inmost recesses of things, and to connect together the various links into one universal chain, and show their derivation in a certain order from their first origin. Neither can he be accused by any one of having, like other mathematicians and physicists, made use of the light he discovered during his researches, to hide from himself and others, and, if possible, to extinguish the greatest light of all; for, in his constant meditations on the work of creation, he continually found reasons for acknowledging and adoring the Lord of nature. . . .

"I am perhaps not mistaken in believing that, from the time when our Swedenborg began to build his thoughts upon his own ground, he cherished a hidden fire to fathom the most secret things, and that, even then, he was seeking for ways by which to reach his object; at least, a comparison of his earlier with his later works, although they treat on different subjects, leads us to think so. He looked upon the universe at large in the same light as he looked upon its parts, which can be examined with greater certainty. He saw that all is ruled simultaneously in a certain order, and according to fixed laws. He paid particular attention to those parts of this great system which can be examined mathematically. He therefore imagined that the all-wise Creator had brought everything, even in its hidden parts, into a certain mutual agreement, and this agreement he sought to bring out in his capacity of mathematician and physicist, by advancing from the less to the greater, and from that which may be distinguished by the naked eye to that which requires the aid of the magnifying glass. And, finally, he developed for himself a complete system, based upon a certain mechanism, and supported by logic; a system which is so carefully constructed that there is much in it, in many respects, for the learned to reflect upon. As to the unlettered, they had better not meddle with it. . . .

"But he went still further. He desired to combine this system with the doctrine of salvation. With this we find him occupied during most of the time after he had published his *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*.

"I cannot help being filled with astonishment, in reflecting upon his extraordinary industry; for besides numerous treatises, and among them the great work I have already mentioned, he was the author of the following works [here follows a list of Swedenborg's anatomical and theological works].

"The titles of all these works point out lofty themes; and although they treat of different subjects, and follow different lines of argument, being based upon anatomy, physics, and philosophy, upon explanations of the Sacred Scriptures and, according to his own statement, upon revelations, still, owing to his way of treating them, they all lead to meditations on the Supreme Being, the human soul, with other invisible and spiritual things, and the life after death. . . .

"If I were called upon frankly to state his faults, I should imagine to myself some one who devoted his whole time to the preparation of a universal solvent,—a menstruum which would solve everything that either nature or art had produced, without remembering that no vessel could preserve it. Our Swedenborg was not satisfied with knowing much; he desired to know more than can be comprehended by any man here below, in that state of imperfection which belongs to him while the soul dwells in a frail material body. Any one who condemns this fault cannot be regarded as impartial, so long as he does not first inveigh against those who ought to know much, and yet who know nothing. But it is not so easy to be displeased with a man who was endowed with so many fine qualities.

"He had a sincere love for mankind; and, in examining the disposition of others, he always endeavored first to find this virtue, as a sure indication of many good qualities besides. He was cheerful and pleasant in company, and, as a recreation from his severe labors, he enjoyed intercourse with intelligent persons, by whom he was always well received and much respected. He could also properly meet, and playfully direct into a different channel, that kind of curiosity which frequently desires to obtrude itself into the consideration of serious things. . . . Our Swedenborg,—and this I mention not as one of his merits,—remained during the whole of his life unmarried. But this was not owing to any indifference to the sex, for he esteemed the company of a fine and intelligent woman as one of the purest sources of delight; but his profound studies required that in his house there should be perfect stillness both day and night. He therefore preferred being alone.

"He enjoyed a most excellent state of bodily health, having scarcely ever been indisposed; and, as he was always content within himself and with his circumstances, he spent a life which was in every respect happy, nay, which was happy in the highest degree. At last nature demanded her rights. During his last sojourn abroad, while residing in London, he had on December 24th of last year, an attack of apoplexy, and on the 29th of last March departed this life, in his eighty-fifth year, rich in the honorable monuments which he left behind him, satisfied with his life upon earth, and joyful at the prospect of his final change."

Let us take for our last look at the lonely old man his own pictures of happiness. In his philosophical argument on the Infinite he had said,—

“Inasmuch as the soul is formed and prepared in the mortal body for an immortal state, so we men are in this respect the happiest beings in the world, or else the unhappiest; for those who are unhappy, are more unhappy than the brutes, whose souls are extinguished, and their life annihilated, when they perish. Christians again may be still more happy, or still more unhappy; for they possess a knowledge well calculated to lead to faith, and to comparative distinctness and fulness thereof: yet those of them who are unhappy, are more unhappy than the Gentiles to whom no such knowledge has been granted. Those Christians again who are learned in the Divine law, the prelates and doctors of the Church, are still more happy, or unhappy; for those of them who are unhappy, are more unhappy than the rudest members of the Christian commonalty, however defective in learning and poor in knowledge and enlightenment. Among the skilful interpreters of the Divine law, they again are happier still who have the faculty to engraft reason upon revelation, and to make use of both as means to a knowledge of the things conducing to faith; that is to say, they who are Christian philosophers, who, if unhappy, are more unhappy than those who have obtained their knowledge from revelation alone. For, the more knowledge we possess, the more there is to make us happy, and the more to make us unhappy. Hence the Christian philosopher may be the happiest or the unhappiest of mortals” (p. 149).

Again, after his spiritual experience had been opened to him for some years, he wrote,—

“Some think that he who is in faith must put away all enjoyments of life and pleasures of the body; but this I can testify, that by no means have there been denied to me, but have been granted, not only the pleasures of the body and of the senses, such as are granted to other mortals, but also en-

joyments of life and happiness such as, I think, have been given to no others in the whole world,—greater and more exquisite than any mortal can imagine, or in any way believe.” (S. D. 3623).

Would we inquire further what this happiness might be, we may turn back to what we have read of the peace of the Benediction.¹ We may read what he says of the sweetness of the heavenly perception that one does not think from himself. “It was suddenly given me to perceive the sweetness of the angels which they perceive from this, that they do not think from themselves, and consequently do not speak and act from themselves; for, from this is quiet and confidence, and very many enjoyments therefrom.” (S. D. 2870).

What, then, must have been the sweetness, the quiet, the confidence, and the happiness of him who was permitted for near thirty years to perceive that he thought and wrote, not from himself, but from the Lord! What is this but a fore-running fulfilment of that coming of the Lord described in John as the coming of the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, which should guide into all truth?

Let it be granted that this prophecy was for the whole Church, and, in addition to its first miraculous but temporary fulfilment with the Apostles, is to have a final permanent fulfilment. Let it be granted that the prophecy of the coming in judgment in the clouds of heaven is also a spiritual coming, and may be expected at the same time. Swedenborg’s explanation follows, that the one is the consequence of the other; that the admission of the Lord, by His Holy Spirit, into the heart, throws that flood of light into the understanding by which He stands revealed, even in the clouds of the letter of His Word, and perforce executes a judgment on whatever stands in His Presence.

This seen to be the truth, it remains to read with patience and heavenly desire what Swedenborg has written, from his

¹ Page 237.

illustration, in explanation of this Word, and to see whether or no this explanation shines with Divine light in our own minds. If so, we know well whence it comes. And if not, let us not judge hastily, let us wait ; perchance the fault is yet our own. New ideas, especially ideas involving a new world within and above that to which we are accustomed, are not presumably to be received at first glance, or without deep thought and elevation of mind. Herein lies the test. Only in our highest, most interior state, when nearest in heart to God and His heaven, should we undertake to conclude concerning what professes to come from Him, and then only by comparison with His Word. Conclusions then formed, and then alone, may be trusted. Many readers, too, will sympathize with these words of Swedenborg's friend, General Tuxen :—

“I confess that when I first began to read his works and just cast my eye on the following passage, that ‘a horse signifies the understanding of the Word,’ I found myself, as it were, repelled and not very well pleased ; but afterwards, when I read his works in series from the beginning, and with attention, though I found many things which surpassed my understanding and knowledge, yet happily I recollected at the same time the answer of Socrates to the other Athenian philosophers, who asked his opinion on the writings of Heraclitus,—*That he did not understand them everywhere, but what he did understand was so excellent and good, that he did not doubt but the rest, which he understood not, was equally so.* This encouraged me to read more and more, and what I understood I found for my advantage ; and it appears to me that no system of divinity is more worthy of the dignity of God, or more consolatory to man.”

Some, though finding the doctrines set forth by Swedenborg eminently rational, find great difficulty in believing that his spiritual sight could be opened while he yet remained in this world. Such, probably, have not become familiar with the idea, old as the world, but for a time well-nigh lost, that

the spirit-world is all around us and very near, and that the passage into it is but the opening of a door. Let them, for encouragement, call to mind the good old story of our heathen ancestors:—

"In the year 626 of our era, when Edwin, the Anglo-Saxon king, was deliberating on receiving the Christian missionaries, one of his nobles said to him: 'The present life of man, O King, compared with that space of time beyond, of which we have no certainty, reminds me of one of your winter feasts, where you sit with your generals and your ministers. The hearth blazes in the middle, and a grateful heat is spread around, while storms of rain and snow are raging without. Driven by the chilling tempest, a little sparrow enters at one door, and flies delighted around us till it departs through the other. Whilst it stays in our mansion, it feels not the winter storm; but when this short moment of happiness has been enjoyed, it is forced again into the same dreary tempest from which it had escaped, and we behold it no more. Such is the life of man, and we are as ignorant of the state which preceded our present existence as of that which will follow it. Things being so, I feel that if this new faith can give us more certainty, it deserves to be received.'"

Mr. Emerson, who fitly quotes the above at the opening of his *Essay on Immortality*, observes a marked change of current sentiment in regard to the other life during this century, which he attributes to the influence of Swedenborg's teachings. Mr. Coleridge wrote, in April, 1827,—

"I have often thought of writing a work to be entitled . . . 'Vindication of Great Men unjustly branded;' and at such times the names prominent to my mind's eye have been Giordano Bruno, Jacob Böhme, Benedict Spinoza, and Emanuel Swedenborg. Grant, that the origin of the Swedenborgian theology is a problem; yet, on whichever of the three possible hypotheses (possible, I mean, for gentlemen, scholars, and Christians)¹ it may be solved,—namely: 1. Swe-

¹ "Si, dans les générations contemporaines et épigones, il ne s'est pas trouvé une voix sérieuse qui eût voulu se compromettre, en osant accuser de tromperie un homme dont l'honnêteté était évidente et le sens inattaquable, comment aurait-on ce courage aujourd'hui?" [MATTER: p. 70.] Matter cites the familiar visions of Descartes, Antoinette Bourignon, Madame Guyon, and other mystics, as preparing the way for belief in Swedenborg's spiritual sight. It was a time for signs and visions, when the power of light and the power of darkness were contending for the control of mankind.

denborg's own assertion and constant belief in the hypothesis of a supernatural illumination; or, 2. That the great and excellent man was led into this belief by becoming the subject of a very rare, but not (it is said) altogether unique, conjunction of the somniative faculty (by which the products of the understanding, that is to say, words, conceptions, and the like, are rendered instantaneously into forms of sense) with the voluntary and other powers of the waking state; or, 3. The modest suggestion that the first and the second may not be so incompatible as they appear,—still it ought never to be forgotten that the merit and value of Swedenborg's system do only in a very secondary degree depend on any one of the three. For, even though the first were not adopted, the conviction and conversion of such a believer must, according to a fundamental principle of the New Church, have been wrought by an insight into the intrinsic truth and goodness of the doctrines, severally and collectively, and their entire consonance with the light of the written and of the eternal Word, that is, with the Scriptures and with the scintial and the practical reason. Or say that the secret hypothesis were preferred, and that by some hitherto unexplained affection of Swedenborg's brain and nervous system, he from the year 1745 thought and reasoned through the *medium* and instrumentality of a series of appropriate and symbolic visual and audital images, spontaneously rising before him, and these so clear and distinct as at length to overpower, perhaps, his first suspicions of their subjective nature, and to become objective for him, that is, in his own belief of their kind and origin,—still the thoughts, the reasonings, the grounds, the deductions, the facts illustrative, or in proof, and the conclusions, remain the same; and the reader might derive the same benefit from them as from the sublime and impressive truths conveyed in the Vision of Mirza or the Tablet of Cebes. So much even from a very partial acquaintance with the works of Swedenborg, I can venture to assert,—that as a naturalist, psychologist, and theologian, he has strong and varied claims on the gratitude and admiration of the professional and philosophical student.”¹

To most readers of Swedenborg the simplest way, by far, is to believe that Swedenborg saw just what he thought he did, with the eyes that were surely to be opened a few years later, and might, for the Lord's good purpose, be opened before those of the body were closed. But for those persons to whom this seems too miraculous for belief, we give Mr. Coleridge's alternative, earnest that none should be precluded

¹ S. T. COLERIDGE: *Literary Remains*, p. 422.

by the visions from gaining what good they can from the doctrines and interpretations of Scripture. At all events it may be said to them in the words of Matter,—

“The greatness of Socrates remains, whether his dæmon be a poetic fiction or a hallucination. It is the same with Swedenborg. His greatness,—I mean his thought,—remains, whether his character as medium chosen of God to serve as an organ and interpreter of the Word of God with men, be a pious fiction, or the most sincere illusion, [or, let us add, the very truth]. His doctrine, so completely set forth in his writings, has its value in itself; independent of the visions cited in its support, it is given in the sacred texts therein contained. Every man of sense may do what Count Höpken did,—take the doctrine, and let alone the visions. The true question for everybody is this: has Swedenborg interpreted the Holy Scriptures better than the eighteen centuries which preceded him? The affirmative would not prove the mission which he claims, but it would be a great prepossession in its favor. The negative destroys his mission, but it leaves intact his doctrine and his work.”¹

In our study of Emanuel Swedenborg we have found such penetration and training of mind, such industry and devotion to truth, such store of wisdom, such integrity of character, such piety and benevolence of heart, such spirituality and humility towards God, that we may ask whether, if the Lord needed a man through whom to make known the mysteries of His Word and of His kingdom, He ever made one more fit for the purpose. We have seen that the amount and scope of these revelations through Swedenborg are fairly commensurate with their subject. By specimens, we have seen that in elevation and dignity they are not unworthy of it. And we have seen that for thirty years their author, while he found but few humble souls fully prepared to appreciate and accept the new doctrines he was bringing down out of heaven, yet found none to gainsay them in his presence; but, wherever he went, among the learned or the unlettered, in humble tenement or in kings' courts, all hung upon his lips, in silent reverence at the strange mysteries that fell from them, or rejoiced in heart by their kindly cheer. As in

¹ M. MATTER: *Swedenborg, sa vie, etc.*, p. 73.

his infancy, so again in his age, it was perceived that angels spake with him and through him to men. It may in part reconcile us of English-speaking race to the strangeness of revelations coming to us through Scandinavian stock,¹ that communication from the other world was not so strange to the men of Sweden as to those of busy London, and that, as Danieli says, there was in the family a tendency to receiving strange thoughts, not their own. Yet in the religious freedom of England Swedenborg found the best soil for planting his heaven-fetched seed, the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem; and in Great Britain and America the seed has as yet taken deepest root and borne the most fruit.

Not however by numbers of professed adherents, at the present or at any time, is the magnitude of the work effected through Swedenborg to be measured. This work was but a part, inseparable and indispensable, of the vast work of overcoming and dispersing the power of Babylon and of the Dragon, of freeing the souls of men here and in the world of spirits, of again restoring order in the spirit-world as it was restored at our Lord's first coming, and of causing Himself again to be present with men, visible in His Word, felt at the door of the heart, and everywhere recognized in His Providence. As this work goes on,—and who cannot see that it has been for a century begun?—it may be difficult to take the full measure of Swedenborg's instrumentality. Nor is this a matter of great importance.² It is sufficient that we recognize in his works the help given us by the Lord to take our part in the labor, and to receive our share of the blessing. Everywhere let us seek to see the promised coming of our Lord in His nearer Presence with our fellow-men, in their fuller recognition of Him in His Word and in their hearts, whether or not they are conscious of the help that has been

¹ Sweden was early the stronghold of Protestantism. "Soon after (1630) Gustavus Adolphus crossed the Baltic, and saved Europe from an impending reign of the Jesuits. . . . The rescue of Germany was the work of the Swedish King." BRYCE: *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 336.

² Appendix XII.

given to this freedom and clearness of the spiritual atmosphere by the enlightenment from the Lord of the mind of EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

We prefaced our book with referring to the increasing recognition, among Christian students, of Swedenborg as a pioneer of the advanced theology fast finding its way into the thought of the Churches. We have endeavored to aid this recognition to take another step, and to acknowledge all that has come through Swedenborg as coming, not from the man, but through him from the Lord Jesus, in His new coming to His people.

In conclusion, let us take in this sense, giving God the praise, such acknowledgments as the following, now thickening about us :—

“While Wesley was made the mediator of a new moral force flowing out of Christianity, Emanuel Swedenborg became the organ of a new spiritual philosophy, the power of which is hardly yet understood, but which seems likely to leaven all religious thought, and change all arbitrary theologies into a spiritual rationalism. But Swedenborg did not go out of Christianity to find his ideas. Like George Fox and John Wesley, he found them in Christ.”¹

“The most remarkable step in the religious history of recent ages is that made by the genius of Swedenborg. . . . These truths, passing out of his system into general circulation, are now met with every day, qualifying the views and creeds of all churches, and of men of no church.”²

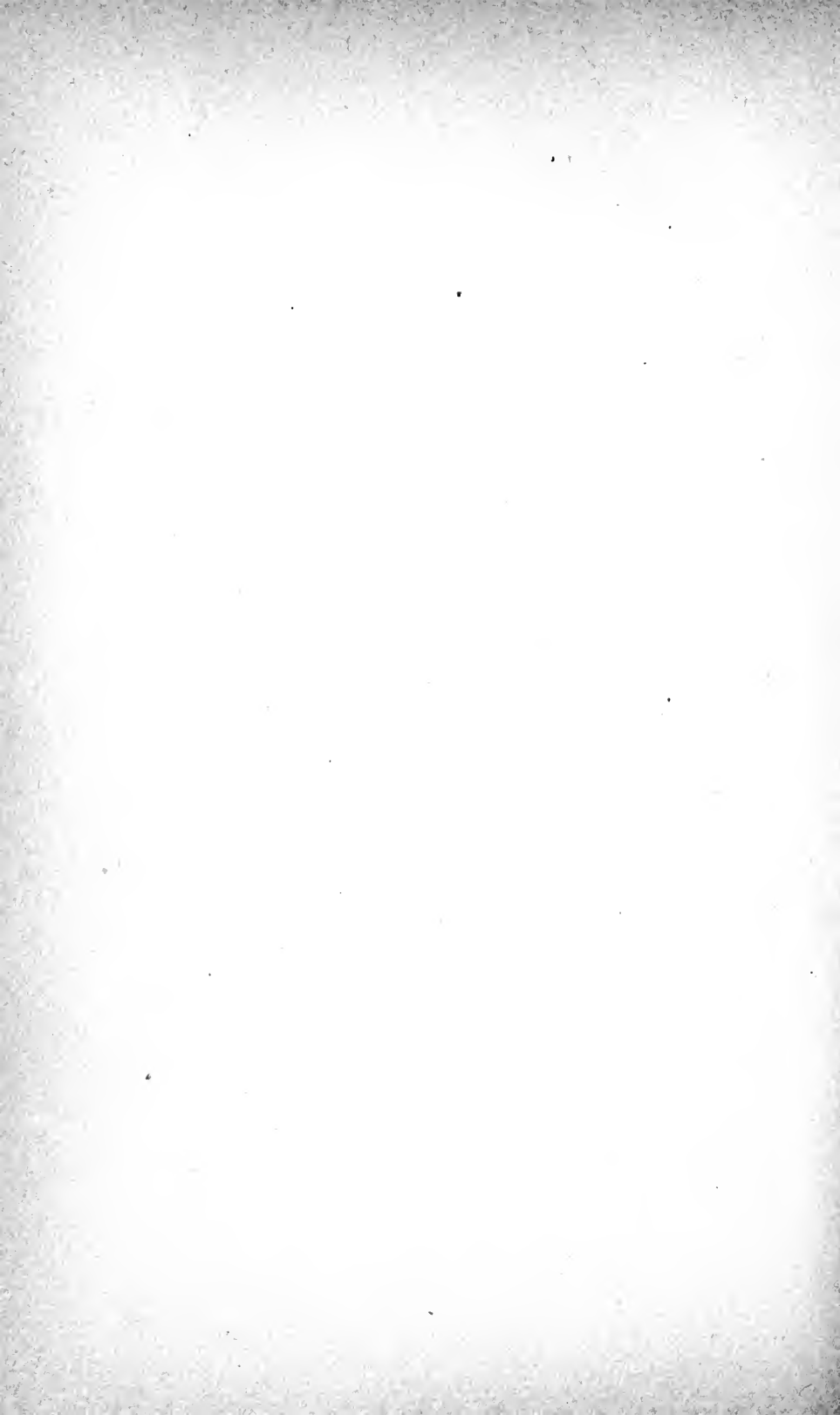
“Swedenborgianism has done the liberating work of the last century. . . . The wave Swedenborg started lasts to this day. . . . The statements of Swedenborg’s religious works have revolutionized theology.”³

¹ Rev. James Freeman Clarke.

² Ralph Waldo Emerson.

³ Rev. E. E. Hale, in a recent lecture.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.



I. — PAGE I.

THE famous Bull Unigenitus was issued at the instigation of the Jesuits. As a means for its enforcement, the Jesuit clergy in France resolved that notes should be obtained of dying persons, that these notes should be signed by priests who maintained the authority of the Bull, and that without such notes no person should receive the last sacraments of the Church. Among other things this Bull denounced as false, blasphemous, heretical, and reprobate the following propositions, which had been published by Father Quesnel, a Jansenist, with his New Testament:—

“That it is useful and necessary for all persons to know the Scriptures.

“That the reading of the Scriptures is for everybody.

“That the sacred obscurity of the Word of God is no reason for the laity to excuse themselves from reading it.

“That the Lord’s day ought to be sanctified by Christians, in reading pious books and, above all, the Scriptures.

“That it is a great mistake to imagine that the knowledge of the mysteries of religion ought not to be imparted to women, by the reading of the Sacred Books.

“That to wrest the New Testament out of the hands of Christians, is to keep it closed up, by taking from them the means of understanding it,—is no other than to close up the mouth of Christ as to them.

“That to forbid to Christians the reading of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the Gospel, is no other than to forbid the use of light to the children of light.

“That to deprive the unlearned people of the comfort of joining their voices with the voice of the whole Church, is a custom contrary to apostolical practice and to the design of God.”

II. — PAGE I.

MADemoiselle BOURIGNON, born and bred a Roman Catholic in the 17th century, was keenly alive to the state of the Church. In *The Light of the World*, published in England in 1696, and giving a report of her conversations, it is said:—

“I asked her if she firmly believed that the last times were come; and whether the judgment approached.

“She said to me: Believe me, Sir, there is nothing more true; we actually live in the last times; and the judgment is so near, that before three years I believe you will see the effects of it. . . . We may see by the lives of men now, that all the signs are fallen out which Jesus Christ has foretold, namely, that iniquity shall be multiplied, and charity in many shall wax cold, and so of the rest. . . . The life of men is the open book in which these truths are written, and the Holy Scriptures are the equitable Judge which pronounces the sentence. Read, Sir, with attention, they will deliver you from the difficulty you find in believing this; for though indeed they do not determine precisely the day of judgment, yet they will make you see sufficiently that the chief signs which must precede it do already appear. . . . Truth, which is the true Sun of Righteousness, cannot any longer appear openly; it is become black and hateful to all the world, who, desiring to be flattered and praised, cannot hear the truth, because it reproves the falsehood which now prevails. . . . I entreat you to read attentively the 24th chapter of St. Matthew; it speaks of the present time. All the Parables do the same. I wish I had time and leisure to explain them to you; you would see as well as I that the judgment approaches, for all the fore-running signs are already come. People do not perceive them, for want of reflecting seriously enough on the Holy Scriptures, or upon the inward life of men now-a-days: they amuse themselves with regarding only their outward piety, imagining that there are yet a great many good men, because they appear such; but before God all are corrupted. . . . Many souls will be deceived at death, who in their lifetime presumed they were true Christians, while in the sight of God they will be worse than heathens. Such is the blindness wherein we live at present, in which nobody makes a right judgment of himself, or of others, every one presuming to be saved without good works; whereas

no works can be good if they do not proceed from charity, which is at present banished from the hearts of all men; for which cause there are no more perfect Christians upon earth, for the Christian life is all charity, and the love of God, which is no longer in use. . . . There has been no longer charity upon earth, Sir, since Christians left the Gospel simplicity; from that time charity began to wax cold; and when the Church would needs establish herself in pomp, riches, and magnificence, this outward splendor has utterly destroyed the spirit of the Gospel. Studies have banished the Holy Spirit, and the learning of men has stifled the wisdom of God" (p. 19).

Father Lambert, a Jansenist, wrote somewhat later,—

"In examining with a good faith the different characteristics which, in the Apocalypse, the woman who is a harlot presents, it is very difficult not to recognize under this emblem the city of ROME. . . . There is then every reason to believe that the holy Apostle, in casting his eyes forward to the future, which was still separated from him by an interval of so many ages, shows us a CHRISTIAN city; but which will then be depraved, corrupted, laden with iniquities, making religion subservient to her pride, her domination, her avarice; and which will merit from God the outpouring upon her of the cup of His wrath."¹

In illustration of the proud domination here referred to, witness the declarations by Leo the Great that he possessed, as the Head of the Church and by participation, the power of Christ, and that as such he was the head of a Church whose top reached unto heaven; by Count de Maistre, that the Sovereign Pontiff is "the necessary, the only, the exclusive basis of Christianity;" by Cornelius a Lapide, that "the Pope, as being the vicar of God, represents God;" by Dionysius, that the One seen by John sitting on the throne (Rev. iv.) is the Pope; by Alcasar, that "the Pope as the vicar of Christ is in a manner Christ Himself," and that "the priests of the Church have a power more sublime than the very seraphim themselves, and one which is especially proper to God;" by St. Bernard, that their order is "preferred before angels, archangels, thrones, and dominations;" and by the Rhemish Testament, "The Father gave all power to the Son; but I see the same power altogether delivered by the Son unto them"—the priests.

¹ *Exposition of the Prophecies and Promises made to the Church*, ii. 327.

III.—PAGE 7.

DR. WATTS had said, in his treatise on the *Improvement of the Mind*,—

“Nor should a student in Divinity imagine that our age is arrived at a full understanding of everything which can be known by the Scriptures. Every age since the Reformation hath thrown some further light on difficult texts and paragraphs of the Bible, which have been long obscured by the early rise of Antichrist; and since there are at present many difficulties and darknesses hanging about certain truths of the Christian religion; and since several of these relate to important doctrines, such as the origin of sin, the fall of Adam, the Person of Christ, the blessed Trinity, the decrees of God, etc., which do still embarrass the minds of honest and inquiring readers, and which make work for noisy controversy,—it is certain there are several things in the Bible yet unknown, and not sufficiently explained; and it is certain there is some way to solve these difficulties, and to reconcile these seeming contradictions. And why may not a sincere searcher of truth, in the present age, by labor, diligence, study, and prayer, with the best use of his reasoning powers, find out the proper solution of these knots and perplexities, which have hitherto been unsolved, and which have afforded matter for angry quarrelling? Happy is the man who shall be favored of Heaven to give a helping hand towards the introduction of the blessed age of light and love.”

In what manner Swedenborg was thus favored, the body of this book should show. But independently of his labors, and in wholly different manner, other men have been at work, and have been favored, from the time of Bengel till now.

Philip Matthias Hahn (died 1790) said, “I regard this the true spirit of Christianity,—when every word of God in the Old and in the New Testament is sweet, important, and dear; and when we find therein no favorite truths, but everything is good and agreeable to us, because it is connected with the rest.”

Johann Gottfried von Herder (died 1803) said, “It is certainly a fine thread which pervades the Old and New Testaments, especially in those passages where symbol and fact, history and poetry, mingle together. Rough hands can seldom follow it, much less unravel it, without breaking or tangling it, or without



injuring either the poetry or history which, knitting themselves into it, constitute it a complete unity. It is truly said, 'To explain belongs to God,' or to that man on whom there rests the spirit of the gods, the genius of all ages, and, so to speak, the childhood of the human race."

And again, "In order to be assisted, the revelation of God, as found in the Bible, and even in the entire history of the human race, must be believed, and thus ever return to the great centre about which everything revolves and clusters—Jesus Christ, the Corner-stone and inheritance, the greatest messenger, teacher, and person of the Archetype."

Hagenbach says, "The study of the Bible in the last decades has gained not only in impartiality, but in freshness and interest. How very different are a Pauline epistle and the Gospel of John now explained at the universities from what they were a quarter of a century ago? . . . There is no more a disposition to explain meagrely the written letter, but to penetrate the inmost depths of the Biblical writer's soul and by them to understand him."

Dr. Dörner says, "The extension of vision in modern theology to the entire history and philosophy of religion, has already produced not only new problems, but brilliant and fruitful results, profitable not only to the theology of the New Testament, but also to the elucidation and confirmation of Christianity itself. . . . The entire Old Testament and its religion is beginning to be treated . . . as one great prophecy, a rich compensation for those individual prophecies which had to be given up as exegetically untenable."¹

The Rev. Andrew Jukes says, "The types of Genesis foreshadow God's great dispensational purposes respecting man's development; showing in mystery His secret will and way respecting the different successive dispensations. The types of Exodus bring out, as their characteristic, redemption and its consequences; a chosen people are here redeemed out of bondage, and brought into a place of nearness to God. Leviticus again differs from each of these, dealing, I think I may say solely, in types connected with access to God. Numbers and Joshua are again perfectly different, the one giving us types connected with our pilgrimage as in the wilderness; the other, types of our place as over Jordan,—that is, as dead and risen with Christ."

¹ *History of Protestant Theology*, ii. 443.

And further, speaking of the types of Leviticus,—“Though Christ in His work is the sum and substance of these types, it is Christ as discerned by one who already knows the certainty of redemption; it is Christ as seen by one who, possessing peace with God and deliverance, is able to look with joy at all that Christ has so fully been for him. . . . Exodus gives us the blood of the Lamb, saving Israel in the land of Egypt. Leviticus gives us the priest and the offerings, meeting Israel’s need in their access to Jehovah.”¹

IV.—PAGE 7.

FICHTE, first after Swedenborg, sought a philosophic reason for the Incarnation:—

“Mankind is by the exertion of its freedom to destroy an antagonistic condition, and to form itself into a kingdom of God, into a world in which God alone is the principle of all activity, and in which nothing is done without Him from whom all human freedom proceeds, and to whom it is surrendered. This must indeed take place in detail through each individual, and that power of freedom which determines him. But for this purpose there was needed an example of this determination to self-immolation and self-surrender. Whence was mankind to have this? *It could only have it by means of a previously possessed freedom, and yet in its present state it can only obtain freedom by means of this example. Thus a circle arises: freedom presupposes the example, the example presupposes freedom. This circle is only to be abolished by the fact that the example should once be actual reality, absolutely original, beginning from the very roots, and realizing itself in a person. Now this did take place in Jesus. He is unique through His originality. All who enter the kingdom of heaven attain it only through Him, through the example which He sets up in Himself for the whole race; for all are to be born again through Him, while He is the first and the first-born Son.* Thus does Fichte endeavor to infer from an *à priori* law the necessity of the Person of Jesus.”²

So also, later, says Dr. Dorner himself,—

“The form and contents of Revelation only attain their consummation in the Divine Incarnation, and in such a way that

¹ *The Law of the Offerings.*

² DR. DORNER: *History of Protestant Theology*, ii. 339.

the consummation of Divine Revelation in itself becomes also the consummation of religion, and therewith of humanity. This perfective process is carried into effect first of all in One who, as absolute God-man, is both the Revealer in the absolute sense and the Man embodying God's perfect image, while at the same time bringing about the consummation of the world.

"The meaning of the text is, that neither the form nor the content of Revelation attains its perfection and the goal which Revelation cannot but propose to itself, until it has passed into Incarnation. On God's side, the purpose of His love from the beginning is perfect self-communication; the form and contents of Revelation. . . . The most perfect organ of Revelation can only be the man who, from the first moment of his existence, in his entire person lives in a sphere of being pertaining to Revelation and never separated from God. But in the circumstance of his entire person being made an organ of Revelation, is given at once in inseparable unity external as well as internal revelation and the completion of both. For now the Divine life itself enters into a human life; it assumes a shape that embodies and manifests the Divine life in human form, and is therefore Divine-human. In the God-man the inner spiritual miracle is so united with the outer world-reality, that the union of the Divine and human life, implied in the idea of inspiration without measure, forms a man who in the midst of the world is a personal miracle,—the God-man who, possessed of absolute worth in himself, fully answers to the communicating will of Divine love, and is withal destined both in himself to give perfect expression to human nature, and outside himself to consummate human nature." ¹

The views of Dr. Dorner are not precisely those of Swedenborg, whom he treats with respect, but without accepting his direct antagonism to Calvinism. Dr. D. is the greatest exponent of the effort in this new age to find a philosophic basis and interpretation of the old Christian theology; and the approach to the doctrines of Swedenborg is a sign of the times.

V.—PAGE II.

"THE history of the English Deists of the eighteenth century is indeed a very singular one. At a time when the spirit of the

¹ DR. DORNER: *A System of Christian Doctrine*, ii. 205.

theology of the Church was eminently rationalistic, they were generally repudiated, and by the middle of the eighteenth century they had already fallen into neglect. . . . A latent scepticism and a wide-spread indifference might be everywhere traced among the educated classes. There was a common opinion that Christianity was untrue, but essential to society, and that on this ground alone it should be retained. . . . The old religion seemed everywhere loosening around the minds of men, and it had often no great influence even on its defenders. . . . Butler, in the preface to his *Analogy*, declared that 'it had come to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. . . . As different ages have been distinguished by different sorts of particular errors and vices, the deplorable distinction of ours is an avowed scorn of religion in some and a growing disregard of it in the generality.' . . . Montesquieu summed up his observations on English life by declaring, no doubt with great exaggeration, that there was no religion in England, that the subject, if mentioned in society, excited nothing but laughter, and that not more than four or five members of the House of Commons were regular attendants at church. . . . 'People of fashion,' said Archbishop Secker, 'especially of that sex which ascribes to itself most knowledge, have nearly thrown off all observation of the Lord's Day, . . . and if to avoid scandal they sometimes vouchsafe their attendance on Divine worship in the country, they seldom or never do it in town.' . . . Sunday card-parties during a great part of the eighteenth century were fashionable entertainments in the best circles."¹

"Sir William Blackstone 'had the curiosity, early in the reign of George III., to go from church to church and hear every clergyman of note in London. He says that he did not hear a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero; and that it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ.'"²

¹ LECKY: *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 567-581.

² ABBEY AND OVERTON: *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 37.

VI.—PAGE 12.

It was about the year 1686, that Philip Jacob Spener founded what soon came to be called contemptuously Pietism, in an effort to unite brethren in a life of practical piety. A Lutheran, he had no wish to renounce or supplant Lutheranism, but contented himself with getting kindred spirits to read and pray together, to renounce worldly vanities, and to live a pious, charitable life. The rapidity with which the people caught at his system shows the readiness of their hearts for something more satisfying than dogmatic theology. The same spirit of the times is shown in the phenomenon of "the praying children," which appeared in connection with the Pietists in 1707. Children from four years old and upwards suddenly began assembling in the open fields, singing and praying, especially for the recovery of the churches that had been seized by the Catholics. From field to field the contagion spread, in spite of prohibition and even of blows, till it extended over the whole country, and was checked only by the providing of churches for their meetings. Then it soon died out. At Halle the Pietists were permitted to control the new university, and by the year 1727 more than six thousand theologians had received from them their theological education. Their system was violently opposed by the Orthodox, for they taught that regeneration was not effected by baptism, as Luther and Calvin held with the Mother Church, but was an awakening or conversion, which was conditioned in subsequent life by the Word of God; that only living faith attained justification, and that it must be active in preserving it, a sure guarantee existing only in a faith which gave evidence of being alive in a pious life and active Christianity. Later Pietism became more formal and declined, but it had already "poured a mighty religious stream into the national life, and sustained it by zealous preaching, pastoral care, devotional meetings, and an almost exuberant devotional literature."¹ Moreover, Pietism widely and increasingly modified the teaching of the whole Lutheran Church, as Methodism had done that of the Anglican Church, and as Moravianism, in less degree, that of the Reformed or Calvinist Church.

A spirit nearly akin to that of the Pietists became conspicuous in the Roman Catholic Church, at the incoming of the

¹ Kürtz, ii. 250.

eighteenth century, in the lives and writings of Madame Guyon and Archbishop Fénelon. Nothing purer and more elevated had appeared in the Church. Nothing perhaps has exercised greater influence for good both in the Catholic and in the Protestant Churches, to this day. Yet their substitution of inward, spontaneous, fervid prayer in place of the formalities of the Church was thought to interfere with its power, and Madame Guyon and the good Archbishop both fell under its condemnation,—the one being sent to pass her days in a dungeon, the other meekly bowing in submission to the Holy See.

It is remarkable that the Moravians, under Zinzendorf, with their ecstatic profession of affectional union with their Saviour, attracted the interest first of Wesley and somewhat later of Swedenborg, at their meetings in London. Wesley was much influenced by them, about the beginning of his great revival, in 1738; but Swedenborg soon discovered their insincerity and denounced them, for which he was denounced in turn. Of the great movement set on foot by the Wesleys and Whitefield it is to be remembered that nothing equal in extent and power had occurred since the Reformation. And indeed it was, with Pietism, a reformation like that of John the Baptist in the wilderness, laying low the mountains and raising up the valleys in preparation for what was to come.

VII.—PAGE 13.

THE conditions of a consummation are as obvious in the causes of the French Revolution as in the catastrophe itself. Among these causes we may reckon first the oppression of the laboring class by Church and State and Gentry, all for mere voluptuous indulgence. Fénelon wrote to the king,—

“Your people are dying of hunger. The tillage of the land is almost abandoned. Towns and villages are being depopulated. All the trades languish and no longer feed the workmen. . . . In place of drawing money from this poor people, they ought to receive alms and be fed. All France is nothing now but a great hospital, stripped and without provisions. Popular movements, which had been long unknown, are becoming frequent. . . . You are reduced to the deplorable extremity, either of leaving sedition unpunished, or of massacring the people whom you drive to

despair, and who are perishing every day with disease caused by famine. While they want bread, you yourself want money, and you will not see the extremity to which you are reduced."

An official account in 1698 had said,—

"In the greater part of Rouen, in Normandy, which was always one of the most industrious and well-to-do provinces, out of seven hundred thousand souls there are not fifty thousand who eat bread at their ease and who sleep on anything better than straw. In the greater part of Caen the population has diminished a half by poverty."

In 1707 Vauban wrote,—

"The tenth part of the people is reduced to beggary, and begs in fact: two million beggars out of twenty million people. Of the other nine tenths there are five who are not in condition to give alms to the one tenth, because they are within a trifle of being reduced to the same wretched condition; and of the four remaining tenths, three are very poorly off."

In 1725 Saint Simon wrote,—

"The poor people of Normandy eat grass, and the kingdom is turned into a vast hospital of the dying and of those driven to despair."

In 1740 Bishop Massillon wrote to Minister Fleury,—

"My lord, the people of our country live in frightful poverty, without bed, without furniture. The greater part even lack, for half the year, oat and barley bread, which makes their sole subsistence, and are obliged to tear it from their own and their children's mouths to pay their taxes."

In 1745 the Duke of Orleans said to Louis XV. on presenting him with some fern bread: "Sire, see on what your subjects feed."¹

When we consider that the clergy held the third part of the soil of France and exacted a tithe of the produce of the rest, affecting to call this tithe a free-will offering, while they prosecuted forty thousand lawsuits to enforce it, we can see that the crash must come, and can understand why Church and State domination must go down together.

"During the eighteenth century men were speculating on religion, government, and society in a more daring way than they had ever speculated on so great a scale before. . . . This whole period, then, was one of very great importance, but it was mainly

¹ LACOMBE: *Petite Histoire du Peuple Français*, p. 202.

in the way of preparation for what was coming. . . . In most branches of art, learning, and original composition the eighteenth century was below either the times before or the times after it. It seemed as if the world needed to be stirred up by some such general crash as was now near at hand. . . . It was a time [the latter part of the century] which saw such an upsetting of the existing state of things everywhere as had never happened before in so short a space of time. . . . But in this general crash the evil of the older times was largely swept away as well as the good, and means were at least given for a better state of things to begin in our own time." ¹

VIII.—PAGE 115.

THIS topic is nowhere more finely treated than in Matheson's *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity*:—

"Let us marshal once again the testimonies of the past. We have seen the mind of man sleeping profoundly in China, dreaming wildly in Brahma, reposing restlessly in Buddha, half-waking in Persia, fully conscious in Egypt, strongly active in Greece. Then we have seen the life of strength taken up into the life of sacrifice, the power to do transmuted into the power to suffer, and Paganism fading in the light of Christianity. Christianity itself we have beheld rising from very small beginnings: first, the infant that could only wonder; next, at the Pentecostal outpouring, the child learning to speak; then, in the home associations of Jerusalem, the child learning to feel. By and by we have seen these home associations broken, and Christianity driven forth to seek an enlarged sympathy and a wider brotherhood. We have seen the child's first guesses at truth, its first experiences of worldly contact, and its first dreams of worldly ambition. We have marked how these dreams were disappointed in the very act of their fulfilment, and how the attainment of childhood's goal was the death of childhood's joy. Then we have followed the spirit of Christianity from the life of childhood into the life of school; have seen it first trained under the abbot, and afterwards under the rod of the Roman bishop. We have observed the gradual yet steady development of that scholastic life, from its beginning in the representation of truth

¹ EDW. A. FREEMAN: *General Sketch of History* (Am. ed.), pp. 325-27.

by images, to its glorious consummation in the incarnation of truth in art. We have marked how, at each successive stage of development, the school-life became more and more dissatisfied with school, and how as the spirit grew larger than the form, the form became increasingly repulsive to the spirit. We have traced the violent revolutions by which that repulsiveness was manifested, from the image controversy of the East to the rising of Wycliffe in the West. At last, in the Council of Constance, we have beheld the close of the school-life and the entrance into the age of youth. We have followed Christianity through its youthful Utopian dreams, have seen the castles of its fancy and the lands of its imagination beyond the sea, and have heard the proud boast of independence by which it asserted its newly found freedom. And we have seen how the castles crumbled into ruins; we have marked how the lands faded into empty space; we have heard how the proud boast was transformed into a bitter cry,—the cry of disappointed hope, the cry of unsatisfied desire. We have seen, finally, how the conscious helplessness of youth was to be the regenerative hour of manhood, joining together the long-separated elements of individual freedom and individual responsibility,—the power of self-action and the necessity to act for God. Thus far we have journeyed, and we need journey no farther in order to reach the great conclusion that this world is not a chaos, but a cosmos; not a series of chances, but a grand moral order. It is not that here and there in the history of the past we observe the outburst of great practical movements; it is not that in some apparently isolated events the historian can succeed in tracing a deep connection,—such facts would be powerfully suggestive, but they would not necessarily be persuasive. But there is a river of life, never diverted, never broken; a river sometimes corrupted in its waters by the soil it is passing through, sometimes retarded in its course by the artificial embankments raised by man, yet through all corruptions and through all retardations swelling surely onward to the mighty sea. The course of humanity has been an onward course. Individual men have gone back, individual nations have gone back, but humanity itself has never receded. And wheresoever Christianity has breathed, it has accelerated the movement of humanity. It has quickened the pulses of life; it has stimulated the incentives to thought; it has

tuned the passions into peace; it has warmed the heart into brotherhood; it has fanned the imagination into genius; it has freshened the soul into purity. The progress of Christian Europe has been the progress of mind over matter. . . . We see the universal life moulding the individual lives, the one will dominating the many wills, the infinite wisdom utilizing the finite folly, the changeless truth permeating the restless error, the boundless beneficence bringing blessing out of all" (ii. 392).

IX.—PAGE 125.

A RECENT writer in the German Astronomical Quarterly (1879), Magnus Nyrén, in an exposition of the cosmogony of Swedenborg's *Principia* as a contribution to the history of the nebular hypothesis of Kant and Laplace, draws the following conclusions:—

"As one sees, this [the cosmogony of Swedenborg] differs in a single important particular from the later, regarded as the most probable, accepted hypothesis on the same subject; and in general his conclusions, with the exception of the vortical theory, are founded on the most scientific basis. In spite of this defect, and even of many evident faults in regard to what is possible according to the theory of gravitation, it cannot be denied that the true fundamental principle of the nebular theory was first declared by Swedenborg,—namely, that the entire solar system was formed out of a single chaotic mass, which was at first collected in the form of a colossal sphere, and afterwards by rotation threw off a ring, which then, during the continued rotation, divided into separate portions, and these at length gathered themselves up into spheres—the planets.

"The work of Kant on this subject, 'Universal History of Nature and Theory of the Heavens,' was not published until 1755, twenty-one years later. Laplace did not make known his theory until sixty-two years later. It is here also to be remarked, that Swedenborg gave to his hypothesis the correct form, according to all the probabilities,—that (as was also adopted by Laplace) the planets came into existence from separated rings, . . . not as Kant thought, in already formed masses directly out of the original mass of vapor. . . . In regard to the correctness

of the above-given explanation of the statement that the Milky Way is the common axis of the starry heavens, I do not here undertake properly to make reliable conclusions concerning Swedenborg's views of the question touched upon. But when, as it seems to me, no other meaning can be found therein than that the Milky Way is the equatorial *intersection*—zodiac—of our entire visible sphere of the heavens, the priority belongs to Swedenborg. In reference to the first ideas advanced concerning the star-system of the Milky Way, that, while one metes out justice to Swedenborg, one does not in the least diminish the merit due to Kant and Laplace in regard to the question spoken of, is well understood. For, firstly, neither of these two evidently knew anything of Swedenborg's opinions on the same subject, although a reference to them appeared in the *Acta Eruditorum*, Leipsic, for 1737; and Kant mentions in his treatise giving forth his views, that these writings were accessible to him; so that there can be no doubt that he would have mentioned it, if he had borrowed for his ideas anything from Swedenborg. Secondly, Kant and also Laplace have the undisputed credit of having elucidated and explained the hypothesis in question from the standpoint of the theory of gravitation, while, on the other hand, Swedenborg worked out every conclusion deductively according to the demands of the vortical theory."

This is not the first nor the broadest claim that has been made for the astronomical speculations of the *Principia*, but we select it, in preference to claims that have been made by Swedenborg's friends, for its recent and high authority, and for its generous fairness. It is not uncommon to lay stress on the fact that Laplace credited Buffon with the first suggestion of a nebular theory, and that Buffon is known to have possessed a copy of Swedenborg's *Principia*, which was published ten years before his own theory.¹ But we like the spirit of the writer now quoted, and join him in crediting all these great thinkers with having worked out their own conclusions independently. We will but add the single remark, that the *Principia* can afford to wait another hundred years, if need be, for the acceptance of its vortical theory.

¹ Translator's Introduction to the *Principia*, ii. 80.

X.—PAGE 134.

M. MATTER says,—

“The same year he published also at Dresden a volume on the three great questions of the time: The Infinite; The Final Cause of nature; and The Mysterious Bond of the Soul and the Body (Outline of Rational Philosophy, etc.).

“And here again it will be necessary for us to give an idea of this work in order to have some comprehension of the extent of the science of the author, the elevation of his mind, and its familiarity with the highest speculative regions, with which the learned man of Stockholm must soon enter into the third, so extraordinary, phase of his life. The author means that every thought be reasonable, and every exposition of idea simple, even to familiarity. Never is the reasonable contrary to revelation, he says, and never is what is not clear philosophic.

“This simplicity does not prevent originality.

“The question of the Infinite then agitated is always still to be resolved, human intelligence being incapable of embracing the thing which is in question, and comprehending only the idea, or the word which is used to designate it. It had just been treated in Sweden by the creator of modern philosophy. For Descartes, the world was the infinite whole of worlds, the universe without bounds, the Divine creation or formation of which offered difficult problems. The friend of Queen Christina boldly explained its origin by means of three elements,—subtile matter or fine dust, little globules, and matters deprived entirely or animated with little motion (see our History of Philosophy in its relations with Religion, p. 265). Swedenborg, who was Cartesian for philosophy properly so-called, logic and method, was very little so for psychology and metaphysics, and not at all for cosmology. He changed from the foundation all this theory, and demanded, without any disrespect for a great name, but with entire independence, that incontestable facts should be put in place of those conceptions which are little else than assertions.

“From Descartes, Swedenborg passed to Bacon with the same ease, the same respect, and the same superiority in the question of the final causes of each of the great works of nature, or of the final cause of the whole.

“Bacon, to lead philosophers to become observers of facts,—in a word, naturalists, and not inventors of systems, that is to say hypotheses,—had proscribed final causes; or, rather, he had interdicted search for them. What is given us in phenomena is phenomena, he said. Let us establish it: that is our part. As for the cause, it does not belong to us. That is the part of the Creator. This manner of clearing up the question by closing the eyes, did not suit Swedenborg. It is not in the power of the human mind to renounce it, said he, and it would be wrong to do it if we could.

“After Descartes and Bacon, the turn of Leibnitz came in the study of the third question,—the problem of the bond between the soul and the body. Leibnitz had just given that hypothesis of pre-established harmony of which he made much, but which satisfied nobody, not even Wolff, the most faithful of his disciples. Swedenborg, who aimed at the soul in all his studies on the animal kingdom, so eminent in the creations of nature, could not help desiring to do better with this problem. And if ever the question of the soul was treated loftily, it was by him.

“He began by proclaiming this great principle and this fine rule,—that in order to explain the soul we must go to the body, the microcosm, the world which it inhabits: the secret or the science of the soul is there alone. But it is not by the synthetic way, in which we find and affirm what we please; it is by the analytic way, in which we establish and declare what we can, that we must proceed in this field.

“The great merit of Swedenborg in the discussion of these three questions is in having aided, in the name of facts, in giving liberty to philosophy. In philosophy, as in politics, in order that life and natural movement may return, it is necessary to begin by overturning the despotism which stops the circulation. Swedenborg was rightly impatient with the state of stagnation in which three overgrown authorities,—Bacon, Descartes, and Leibnitz,—held minds enchained; and Wolff was right in paying homage to him who worked so well for the deliverance of thought. Swedenborg, it is true, did not finally settle any of these questions, and every philosopher knows why; but he set them all three free.”¹

¹ *Swedenborg; sa vie*, p. 41-43.

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THE question is a serious one, whether science is really any nearer now to an acknowledgment of the God of heaven than it was in the middle of the last century. It is true that there are still men of science, eminent in their way, who seek to find all causes in physical forces and conditions, and who ignore the Deity and immortality. But on the other hand there are men of science not less eminent, and who have the heart of the world with them, to whom the phenomena of nature are but revelations of the mind of an all-wise and all-beneficent God. A few years ago there were working side by side, within hearing of our printing-press, three professors of natural science, each unsurpassed in the world in his chosen department,—Agassiz, Pierce, and Gray. In Professor Agassiz's Preface to his famed *Essay on Classification* he said, in speaking of the divisions of the animal kingdom,—

“Are those divisions artificial or natural? Are they the devices of the human mind to classify and arrange our knowledge in such a manner as to bring it more readily within our grasp and facilitate further investigations, or have they been instituted by the Divine Intelligence as the categories of His mode of thinking? Have we, perhaps, thus far been only the unconscious interpreters of a Divine conception, in our attempts to expound nature? . . . To me it appears indisputable, that this order and arrangement of our studies are based upon the natural, primitive relations of animal life,—those systems to which we have given the names of the great leaders of our science who first proposed them, being in truth but translations into human language of the thoughts of the Creator. And if this is indeed so, do we not find in this adaptability of the human intellect to the facts of creation, by which we become instinctively, and, as I have said, unconsciously, the translators of the thoughts of God, the most conclusive proof of our affinity with the Divine Mind? And is not this intellectual and spiritual connection with the Almighty worthy of our deepest consideration? If there is any truth in the belief that man is made in the image of God, it is surely not amiss for the philosopher to endeavor, by the study of his own mental operations, to approximate the workings of the Divine Reason, learning from the nature of his

own mind better to understand the Infinite Intellect from which it is derived. But who is the truly humble? He who, penetrating into the secrets of creation, arranges them under a formula, which he proudly calls his scientific system? — or he who in the same pursuit recognizes his glorious affinity with the Creator, and in deepest gratitude for so sublime a birthright strives to be the faithful interpreter of that Divine Intellect with whom he is permitted, nay, with whom he is intended, according to the laws of his being, to enter into communion? ”.

“If it can be proved . . . that this plan of creation, which so commends itself to our highest wisdom, has not grown out of the necessary action of physical laws, but was the free conception of the Almighty Intellect, matured in His thought before it was manifested in tangible external forms; if, in short, we can prove premeditation prior to the act of creation,—we have done, once and for ever, with the desolate theory which refers us to the laws of matter as accounting for all the wonders of the universe, and leaves us with no God but the monotonous, unvarying action of physical forces, binding all things to their incurable destiny. I think our science has now reached that degree of advancement, when we may venture upon such an investigation.”

Professor Gray prefaced his *Botany for Young People* with the beautiful verses from Matthew: “CONSIDER THE LILIES OF THE FIELD, HOW THEY GROW: THEY TOIL NOT, NEITHER DO THEY SPIN: AND YET I SAY UNTO YOU, THAT EVEN SOLOMON IN ALL HIS GLORY WAS NOT ARRAYED LIKE ONE OF THESE.”

Then he said, “OUR LORD’s direct object in this lesson of the Lilies was to convince the people of God’s care for them. Now, this clothing of the earth with plants and flowers — at once so beautiful and useful, so essential to all animal life — is one of the very ways in which HE takes care of His creatures. And when Christ himself directs us to consider with attention the plants around us; to notice how they grow, — how varied, how numerous, and how elegant they are, and with what exquisite skill they are fashioned and adorned,— we shall surely find it profitable and pleasant to learn the lessons which they teach.”

Again he said, in his address on “Natural Science and Religion,”—

"I accept Christianity on its own evidence, . . . and I am yet to learn how physical or any other science conflicts with it. . . . I take it that religion is based on the idea of a Divine Mind revealing Himself to intelligent creatures for moral ends. . . . I suppose that the Old Testament carried the earlier revelation and the germs of Christianity, as the Apostles carried the treasures of the Gospel, in earthen vessels. . . . But however we may differ in regard to the earlier stages of religious development, we shall agree in this,—that revelation culminated, and for us most essentially consists, in the advent of a Divine Person, who, being made man, manifested the Divine Nature in union with the human; and that this manifestation constitutes Christianity."

Professor Benjamin Pierce began his great text-book of *Analytic Mechanics*, with these three propositions:—

"1. Motion is an essential element of all physical phenomena; and its introduction into the universe of matter was necessarily the preliminary act of creation. The earth must have remained forever 'without form, and void,' and eternal darkness must have been upon the face of the deep, if the spirit of God had not first 'moved upon the face of the waters.'

"2. Motion appears to be the simplest manifestation of power, and the idea of force seems to be primitively derived from the conscious effort which is required to produce motion. Force may, then, be regarded as having a spiritual origin, and when it is imparted to the physical world, motion is its usual form of mechanical exhibition.

"3. Matter is purely inert. It is susceptible of receiving and containing any amount of mechanical force which may be communicated to it, but cannot originate new force, or in any way transform the force which it has received."

In the "Conclusion" of the book are found the following memorable words:—

"In the beginning, the creating spirit embodied in the material universe those laws and forms of motion which were best adapted to the instruction and development of the created intellect. The relations of the physical world to man as developed in space and time, as ordered in proximate simplicity and remote complication, in the immediate supply of bodily wants by the mechanic arts, and the infinite promise of spiritual enjoyment by the con-

templation and study of unlimited change and variety of phenomena, are admirably adapted to stimulate and encourage the action and growth of the mind. . . . But it is time to return to nature, and learn from her actual solutions the recondite analysis of the more obscure problems of celestial and physical mechanics. In these researches there is one lesson which cannot escape the profound observer. Every portion of the material universe is pervaded by the same laws of mechanical action which are incorporated into the very constitution of the human mind. The solution of the problem of this universal presence of such a spiritual element is obvious and necessary. **THERE IS ONE GOD, AND SCIENCE IS THE KNOWLEDGE OF HIM.**"

Later, in his series of Lowell lectures, Professor Pierce had for his leading idea the revelation of the one God in all His works : —

"That the perfection of theology requires that all the gods should be reduced to one God, will be admitted. But let us consider where the proposition lands us, that all science can be reduced to one fact. Among the facts to be embodied are the facts of omnipresent ideality, the intelligible cosmos, and the all-comprehending intellect. The law of universal gravitation must be incorporated in it, and the laws of rest and motion, of chemistry and heat and electricity, of sound and light, and of all vibrations audible and inaudible, visible and invisible, and of all forms of sensation actual or possible. All the laws of the material world must be included, and they will constitute its least part. The mind of man must be in it, with its philosophy, its emotions, and its infinite capacity of development. It must contain the law of love, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Lord's Prayer. What can this mighty fact be but God Himself?"

"We need not search the obscure past to find out God. It is not in the first appearance of animal life or of man himself that He need be sought, any more than in the whirlwind or the earthquake. His dwelling is not where the law of continuity is broken. There would be the proper home of some heathen deity, who rejoiced in lawlessness. But our God proclaims Himself in the silent law of gravitation ; He is forever present in the quiet grandeur and intellectual simplicity of the processes of the nebular theory, and in the soul of man, which is fitted to

understand the Divine harmony. The Creator is not ruled out of the universe by our theory of evolution. That which we call evolution is but the mode in which He is present on whom mortal cannot look with physical eyes and live. It is the manifestation of His paternity. He becomes through it, more legibly than ever, the beginning and the end, the Alpha and the Omega, the eternal I. AM, the omnipresent Father, the breath of whose nostrils is wisdom and power and love."

"O ye of little faith! Accept the Divine record of the sidereal universe, or ye would not believe in God if His name were written in letters of fire upon the firmament! To reject the ideal history is to strengthen the stronghold of scepticism. It is to deny the celestial doctrine written upon the heavens and the earth. It is to reject the law of the Lord, which is perfect, converting the soul. Let the children be faithful to the Father, and loyally receive the declaration that He made the light with which He shines through the stars, and that it is good."

"The birth of Christianity changed the whole firmament of thought. It was a new spiritual world into which the race was transported. Centuries of profound brooding were required, ere mankind could shake off the torpor of the ancient darkness and awake to the morning light of the Gospel. But when at last the eyes were fully opened, the natural world was revealed in a new light, learning revived in grander aspects, and science was transformed from speciality to generality."

"Why have such curious and intricate celestial problems been presented to man's appetite for knowledge? . . . The changing surface of the sun and his planets; the wonderful system of Saturn, with his mysterious ring and his many satellites; the intricate maze of the cluster of Hercules and of the Pleiades; the immense nebular and stellar transformations,—are a stimulus to research, presented by the Divine teacher, and a promise, surer than the rainbow, that we shall be delivered from this deep flood of ignorance. . . . Such is the glory and majesty of the intellectual future life, naturally suggested to the faith of the Christian philosopher. How infinitely grand, in comparison with the sensual joys promised by other forms of religion!"¹

¹ *Ideality in the Physical Sciences*, pp. 32, 57, 70, 190, 192.

Associated with these three great teachers, in labor and in deep converse on such inspired themes, was our late friend, Professor Theophilus Parsons, to whom the public is more indebted for an intelligent apprehension of the philosophy of the New Church, than to any other student of Swedenborg. In reference to the naturalistic tendency of the age, Mr. Parsons says,—

“It is to avert this danger and arrest the decay of religious belief, as well as to lay the foundations of a faith that will endure every test, and last through the ages, that this new revelation [through Swedenborg] is given. Its work of reanimating and refounding religion, of clearing away the ruins which cumber the old and immovable foundations of religion, and building upon them a new structure that will endure every test, and resist every assault, and abide the test of time, must be gradual and slow, and hardly perceptible in its early stages; for it can be wrought only through reason, and reason working in freedom,—and human reason is in these days greatly cumbered and darkened. But it is impossible for those who have studied and learned the truths taught by Swedenborg to doubt that this work will be done; to them the result is inevitable.

“Already a city is ‘descending from God out of heaven,’ which ‘the glory of God will lighten,’—‘and the nations of them which are saved will walk in the light of it, and the kings of the earth bring their glory and honor into it.’ . . . From God, by the agency of His angels, a new system of truth and doctrine is being given to men, as a city for their minds, where, although entering each through his own among the many gates, men may dwell together in the peace of certainty, and in possession of truth irradiated with light from the knowledge that and how God is, and is the source and centre of all being; and nations will be saved from ignorance and sin by walking in this light; and the kings of the spirit, or the certain and sovereign truths of genuine knowledge of every kind, will bring their glory and honor into it, by acknowledging that it is the teacher and the mother of all wisdom.”¹

¹ *Outlines of the Philosophy of the New Church*, p. 31.

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WHATEVER help is given us to know our Lord is given us from Him, and it is a matter of indifference, relatively, whether or not we know through whom it comes. But those who know that their light has come through Swedenborg have a certain duty and responsibility. Recognizing their faith as given through him, they recognize him as divinely commissioned to instruct them; they recognize his teachings as not his, but their Lord's; and they acknowledge the Lord as the source of all the light that shines in their minds. It then behooves them, first, to let their light so shine in their works that men may be led to its source; second, to preserve and study and publish to the world the teachings which have been intrusted to them. Led by this duty, those who have become convinced of the reality of Swedenborg's mission have for the most part felt called upon to associate in church fellowship with others of the same conviction, although no instruction of this kind was left by their great teacher, and though many most sincere receivers of his teachings have construed their duty otherwise, and have remained in their first church connection. This is a practical question of use, which every one may decide best for himself.

Meanwhile, as under the influence of the New Heaven and by the permeation of the teachings of the New Church on earth the preaching in all the Churches is rapidly losing its former error and approaching nearer and nearer to the doctrine revealed through Swedenborg,¹ the distinction between what is

¹ The remarkable objection has already been made against the revelations given through Swedenborg, and will be urged more and more, that they are only what enlightened common-sense would teach, and but carry farther what we have always known or felt. Let us put with this the following wise remarks of Mr. Matheson:—

"The most powerful revelation will be that message which speaks deepest home to all that we have known; and if Christianity has obtained that pre-eminence, it is because pre-eminently it possesses this quality. . . . When Christianity came, the world recognized it, not instantaneously indeed, but yet with wonderful rapidity; and the reason of this recognition, apart from its supernatural power, was the meeting-place it presented to the conflicting views of men. Around this centre the most diverse beliefs could nestle; Judaism, Orientalism, the features of the Western mythology, and the best elements in all the current systems of philosophy, all rested here."—*Op. Cit.* vol. i. p. 8.

How true this is again of the revelations through Swedenborg, none can believe but by experience.

taught in the professed New Church and what is taught in other Churches, is growing every day less apparent. It is becoming a question to the children of the New Church, What is the difference? And of what consequence is it what Church we belong to? A full appreciation of the duty and responsibility we have just stated answers these questions. It must be the permanent distinction between Churches in which the revelations made through Swedenborg are acknowledged, and those in which they are not, that in the one the light by which the Sacred Scriptures are unfolded is known to be given from Heaven, and in the other it may be supposed to come from the intelligence of men. Nor is this distinction an intellectual one only. Whoever appreciates the sweet, and not pangless, heart-change by which Swedenborg was led to see all the light that came to him as from the Lord alone, cannot fail to recognize the deep, interior regeneration effected by such acknowledgment.

XIII.

PORTRAITS OF SWEDENBORG.

THERE are several painted portraits of Swedenborg, which have been variously reproduced by the brush, in engravings, and in photographs. The earliest portrait is that of the engraving prefixed to the *Principia*, from we know not what painting, or drawing. This was pronounced by Cuno still an excellent likeness when Swedenborg was forty years older. There are, however, serious faults in the drawing, and the likeness cannot be fully relied on.

Of the later portraits, the best known is the one presented by Swedenborg to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, still hanging in their Great Hall. It is known to us through Martin's engraving, executed in 1782, which has been several times copied,—as by Mr. Joseph Andrews for the Boston edition of *The True Christian Religion*, and in a lithograph published by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel. It is a well-balanced face, mild and amiable, but rather feeble in expression.

The best likeness, in the judgment of the Rev. R. L. Tafel, who has had good opportunities for comparison, is an oil paint-

ing that was found hanging in Swedenborg's bedchamber. This was imported into America by Mr. S. A. Schoff, and afterwards came into the hands of the Trustees of the Central Convention, of whom the Rev. W. H. Benade, of Philadelphia, is the survivor. Its features are also well known through photographs, but it has not been very popular by reason of a certain hardness of expression,—in this differing alike from all other portraits, and from the uniform description of Swedenborg's appearance. Yet there is a certain honesty and strength of character expressed which give a probability of likeness.

The best painting and most agreeable portrait is that of which we are kindly allowed to present Mr. Schoff's excellent engraving, for our frontispiece. The original painting was made for Swedenborg's good friend, Count Höpken, probably by Kraft. It is now in the National Gallery of Gripsholm. Our engraving was made for the Board of Publications of the General Convention, and for the American N. C. Tract and Publication Society, and is to be found also in the Compendium of Swedenborg's Theological Writings, by the Rev. Samuel M. Warren. It is from a copy of the Kraft portrait in the possession of the American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society, New York. Another copy is in the possession of the Rev. James Reed, Boston.

Of other portraits of less authenticity we will mention only the two medals struck in Swedenborg's honor,—the one by the Swedish Academy, and the other by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, which give a marked profile, with prominent Roman nose,—we know not on what authority.

XIV.

WRITINGS OF SWEDENBORG.

THE following is a chronological catalogue of the writings of Swedenborg, in condensed form, from the Rev. R. L. Tafel's *Documents*, preserving his numeration. "Photolith" means photolithographed by him in 1870.

1. Select Sentences of L. Annæus Seneca and Pub. Syrus Mimus; with notes. (Academical Thesis.) 62 pp., 8vo. Upsal, 1709.

2. Ecclesiastes xii., in Latin verse. Skara, 1709.
3. Latin verses in honor of Sophia E. Brenner. 2 pp., 4to. 1710.
4. The Northern Muse sporting with the deeds of Heroes and Heroines. 112 pp., 16mo. Greifswalde, 1715.—Second edition (including Nos. 3, 6, 34); Dr. J. F. I. Tafel. 1845.
5. Heliconian Sport, or Miscellaneous Poems. 16 pp., 4to. Skara, 1716.—Second edition, Stockholm, 1826.—Third edition; Dr. Tafel. 1841.
6. A Sapphic Poem, celebrating my dearest father's Birth-day. Skara, 1716.
7. Dædalus Hyperboreus; six nos. 154 pp., 4to. Upsal, 1716–1718.
8. Information concerning the Tinware of Stiernsund. In Swedish, 4 pp., 4to. Stockholm, 1717.
9. Importance of an Astronomical Observatory in Sweden. In Swedish, 4 pp., folio, MS. 1717.
10. On the Causes of Things. 4 pp., 4to. 1717.
11. New Theory of the End of the Earth. In Swedish, 38 pp., MS. 1717.
12. Mode of Aiding Commerce and Manufactures. In Swedish, 6 pp., 4to, MS. 1717.
13. Establishment of Salt-works in Sweden. In Swedish, 4 pp., folio, MS. 1717.
14. Nature of Fire and Colors. In Swedish, 6 pp., folio, MS. 1717.
15. Algebra: in ten books. In Swedish, 135 pp., 16mo. Upsal, 1718.
16. Geometrical and Algebraical Matters. (A treatise on Higher Mathematics.) 169 pp., 4to, MS. Photolith by R. L. Tafel.
17. Attempt to find Longitude by the Moon. In Swedish, 38 pp., 8vo. Upsal, 1718.—Second edition in Latin, Amsterdam, 1721, No. 30.
18. On the Motion and Station of the Earth and Planets. In Swedish, 40 pp., 12mo. Skara, 1718.
19. The great Depth of Water and strong Tides of the Primeval World. In Swedish, 40 pp., 16mo. Upsal, 1719.
20. Swedish Iron Furnaces. In Swedish, 84 pp., 4to, MS. 1719.
21. Anatomy, showing our moving and living Force to consist of Tremulations. In Swedish, 48 pp., 4to, MS. 1719.
22. New Directions for discovering Metallic Veins. 14 pp., 4to, MS. 1719.

23. Docks, Canal-locks, and Salt-works. In Swedish, 8 pp., 4to, MS. 1719.
24. Regulating our Coins and Measures. (Decimal System.) In Swedish, 8 pp., 4to. Stockholm, 1719.—Second edition, 1795.
25. Rise and Fall of Lake Wener. In Swedish, 7 pp., folio, MS. 1720.
26. First Principles of Natural Things. 560 pp., 4to, MS. 1720. Photolith.
27. Letter to Jacob à Melle. 4 pp., Acta Lit., Sueciæ. 1721.
28. Sketch [*Prodromus*] of First Principles of Natural Things; 199 pp., 16mo. Amsterdam, 1721.—Second edition, Amsterdam, 1727.—Third edition, Hildburghausen, 1754.—English edition, entitled "Some Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Chemistry," etc. (including Nos. 29–31); London, 1847.
29. New Observations and Discoveries about Iron and Fire. 56 pp., 16 mo. Amsterdam, 1721.—Second edition, 1727.
30. New Method of finding Longitudes (No. 17 in conciser form). 29 pp., 8vo. Amsterdam, 1721.—Second edition, 1727.—Third edition, Hildburghausen, 1754.—Fourth edition, Amsterdam, 1766.
31. Construction of Docks and Dykes, and Measurement of Vessels. 21 pp., 8vo. Amsterdam, 1721.—Second edition, Amsterdam, 1727.
32. New Rules for maintaining Heat in Rooms. 3 pp., in Acta Lit. Sueciæ. 1722.
33. Miscellaneous Observations on Natural Things. Parts I.–III., 164 pp., 16mo; Leipsic, 1722. Part IV., 56 pp., 16mo; Schiffbeck, 1722 (?). Twelve chapters photolith.—English edition entitled "Miscellaneous Observations connected with the Physical Sciences" (including No. 35); London, 1847.
34. Fable of the Love and Metamorphosis of the Muse Urania. 8 pp., 4to. Schiffbeck, 1722.
35. Power of the Deep Waters of the Deluge. 3 pp., in Acta Lit. Sueciæ, 1722.
36. Rise and Fall of Swedish Currency. In Swedish, 20 pp., 4to. Stockholm, 1722.—Second edition, 1769.
37. The Magnet and its Qualities. 299 pp., 4to, MS. 1722.
38. The genuine Treatment of Metals. Nineteen Parts were projected, if not written, of which four are preserved in 1481 pp., 4to. 1723.
39. The Motion of the Elements in general. 5 pp., 4to, MS. 1724–1733.

40. Notes for the *Principia*. 13 pp., 4to, MS. 1724-1733.
41. The Mechanism of the Soul and Body. 16 pp., 4to, MS. 1724-1733.
42. Comparison of Wolff's Ontology and Cosmology with our *Principia*. Photolith by R. L. Tafel. 49 pp., 4to, MS. 1724-1733.
43. Observations on the Human Body. 6 pp., 4to, MS. 1724-1733.
44. Itinerary for 1733-1734. 80 pp., 4to, MS. Dr. Tafel. 1840. Photolith.
45. Philosophical and Mineral Works. 3 vols. folio. Dresden and Leipsic, 1734. Vol. I., *Principia*, 452 pp. Vol. II., On Iron, 386 pp. Vol. III., On Copper, 534 pp.
46. Sketch of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite. 270 pp., 8vo. Dresden and Leipsic, 1734.
47. Epitome of the *Principia*. 27 pp., 4to, MS. 1734. Photolith.
48. Fragments of three treatises on the Brain; 1004 pp., 4to, MS. 1735-1738, Photolith.—English edition, 1882.
49. Description of my Travels. 40 pp., 4to, MS. 1736-1739. Dr. Tafel, 1840 and 1844. Photolith.
50. Way to the Knowledge of the Soul. 5 pp., 4to, MS. 1738. London, 1846.—In English, "Posthumous Tracts." London.
51. Faith and Good Works. 10 pp., 4to, MS. 1738. London, 1846.—In English, "Posthumous Tracts." London.
52. Economy of the Animal Kingdom. Part I., 388 pp., 4to, London and Amsterdam, 1740. Part II., 194 pp., 4to, London and Amsterdam, 1741.—English edition, two vols., 8vo, London, 1845.
53. Characteristic and Mathematical Philosophy of Universals, 5 pp., folio, MS. Photolith.
54. On the Bones of the Skull and Ossification. 49 pp., folio, MS. 1740. Photolith.
55. Corpuscular Philosophy in Brief. 1 p., folio, MS. 1740. Photolith.
56. Anatomy of all the Parts of the Brain. 636 pp., folio, MS. 1740. Photolith.
57. Introduction to Rational Psychology. 366 pp., 4to, MS. 1740-1741; Photolith.—A portion published by Dr. Wilkinson, as the Third Part of the "Economy." London, 1847.
58. Declination of Magnetic Needle. (Controversy in Academy of Sciences.) 1740-1741. Tafel's *Documents*, vol. i. pp. 565-585.

59. Introduction to Rational Psychology. Part II. 9 pp., folio, MS. 1741. Photolith.
60. Hieroglyphic Key of Natural and Spiritual Mysteries. 48 pp., 4to, MS. 1741. London, 1784.—English edition, London, 1792.—Second English edition, London, 1847.
61. Comparison of the Three Systems concerning the Inter-course of the Soul and Body. Fragment, 44 pp., 4to. 1741. London, 1846.—English edition, London, 1847.
62. The Red Blood. 24 pp., 4to, MS. 1741. London, 1846.—English edition, London, 1847.
63. The Animal Spirit. 24 pp., 4to, MS. 1741. London, 1846.—English edition, London, 1847.
64. Sensation of the Body. 11 pp., 4to, MS. 1741. London, 1846.—English edition, London, 1847.
65. Origin and Propagation of the Soul. 6 pp., 4to, MS. 1741. London, 1846.—English edition, London, 1847.
66. Action. 30 pp., 4to, MS. 1741. London, 1846.—English edition, London, 1847.
67. Rational Psychology. 234 pp., folio, MS. 1741–1742. As Part VII. of *The Animal Kingdom: on the Soul*. By Dr. Tafel, 1849. Photolith.
68. Ontology. 21 pp., folio, MS. 1742. Photolith.
69. Anatomy of the Human Body. II. and III. 269 pp., folio, MS. 1742–1743. Part II. as Part VI., section 2, of *The Animal Kingdom*. By Dr. Tafel, 1849.—Part II., in English, as *The Generative Organs*. London, 1852. Photolith.
70. Swammerdam's Book of Nature. 79 pp., folio, MS. 1743. Photolith.
71. The Animal Kingdom. Part I. 438 pp., 4to. Hague, 1744. Part II. 286 pp., 4to. Hague, 1744.—English edition, Dr. J. J. G. Wilkinson, 2 vols. London, 1843–1844.
72. Dreams. In Swedish, 101 pp., 16mo, MS. 1743–1744. Stockholm, 1859.
73. Sense. 200 pp., folio, MS. 1744. As Part IV. of *The Animal Kingdom*. Dr. Tafel, 1848. Photolith.
74. Muscles of the Face and Abdomen. 13 pp., folio, MS. 1744. Photolith.
75. Physical and Optical Experiments. 6 pp., folio, MS. 1744. Photolith.
76. The Brain. 43 pp., folio, MS. 1744. Photolith.
77. The Animal Kingdom. Part III. 169 pp., 4to. London, 1745.—English edition of *The Animal Kingdom*, in Vol. II. London, 1844.

78. The Worship and Love of God. Part I. 120 pp., 4to. London, 1745. Part II. 24 pp., 4to. London, 1745.—English edition, London, 1801.
79. The Worship and Love of God. Part III. 9 pp., 4to. 1745. Photolith.
80. History of Creation given by Moses. 1745. As *Adversaria*, 25 pp., in Vol. I. Dr. Tafel. 1847.
81. The Messiah about to Come. 32 pp., folio, MS. 1745. As *Adversaria*, in Vol. I. Dr. Tafel. 1847.
82. Explication of the historical Word of the Old Testament. 169 pp., folio, MS. 1745–1746. As *Adversaria*. Dr. Tafel. 1842–1847.
83. Biblical Index of Historical Books of the Old Testament. 581 pp., folio, MS. 1746. To letter D published by Dr. Tafel. 1859.
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91. Biblical Index of Old Testament, except Genesis. 636 pp., folio, MS. 1747–1748. Dr. Tafel and Dr. Kahl. 1859–1868.
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93. Memorable Things. Part II. 516 pp., folio. 1747–1748. *Spiritual Diary*, Part I. Vols. I. and II. Dr. Tafel. 1844–1845.
94. Heavenly Arcana in Genesis. Five volumes, 4to. London, 1747–1758.
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100. Index to Arcana Cœlestia. 1749-1756. London, 1815.
101. Heaven and Hell. 272 pp., 4to. London, 1758.
102. The White Horse. 1757-1758. 23 pp., 4to. London, 1758.
103. The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine. 1757-1758. 156 pp., 4to. London, 1758.
104. The Earths in our Solar System and in the Starry Heaven. 1756-1758. 72 pp., 4to. London, 1758.
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109. Summary Exposition of the Prophets and Psalms. 1759-1760. Dr. Tafel. 1860.
110. Papers for Swedish Diet. 100 pp., folio, MS. 1760. R. L. Tafel's *Documents* (nos. 174-196). 1875.
111. The Last Judgment. 100 pp., folio, MS. 1760. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. 1. Dr. Tafel, 1846. Photolith.
112. The Spiritual World. 30 pp., folio, MS. 1760. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. 1. Dr. Tafel, 1846. Photolith.
113. The Sacred Scripture. MS. 1761. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. 2. Dr. Tafel, 1854. Photolith.
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116. Doctrine of the Lord. 64 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1763.
117. Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture. 54 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1763.

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119. Doctrine of Faith. 23 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1763.
120. Continuation concerning the Last Judgment. 28 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1763.
121. The Mode of Inlaying Marble. Translation for Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, June, 1763. R. L. Tafel's *Documents* (no. 202).
122. The Divine Love. 22 pp., folio, MS. 1762-1763.
123. The Divine Wisdom. 46 pp., folio, MS. 1763. Both the above in Appendix to *The Apocalypse Explained*. 1789. Photolith.
124. Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom. 151 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1763.
125. Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence. 214 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1764.
126. Doctrine of Charity. 49 pp., folio, MS. 1764. London, 1840. Photolith.
127. The Apocalypse Revealed. 629 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1766.
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134. Memorable Things on Marriage. 19 pp., folio, MS. 1767. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. 4. Dr. Tafel. 1854.
135. Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugal Love. 1767-1768. 328 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1768.
136. The Natural and the Spiritual Sense of the Word. MS. 1768. Sent to Oetinger. R. L. Tafel's *Documents* (no. 238).
137. Justification and Good Works. MS. 1768. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII., section 5. Dr. Tafel. 1854.
138. Sketch of the Doctrine of the New Church. MS. 1768. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. 1. Dr. Tafel. 1846.

139. Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church. 1768-1769. 67 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1769.
140. Intercourse between the Soul and the Body. London, 1769.
141. Answer to a Letter from a Friend [Rev. T. Hartley]. 3 pp., 4to. London, 1769.
142. Nine Questions concerning the Trinity, and Answers. 6 pp., 4to, MS. 1769. London, 1775.
143. Canons of the New Church. 45 pp., folio, MS. 1769. London, 1840.
144. Confirming Passages of the Old and New Testaments. 1769. 39 pp., folio, MS. Dr. Tafel. 1845.
145. The True Christian Religion. 541 pp., 4to. Amsterdam, 1771.
146. Notes for The True Christian Religion. 23 pp., folio, MS. 1770. R. L. Tafel's *Documents* (no. 302).
147. Ecclesiastical History of the New Church. 1 p., folio, MS. 1771. R. L. Tafel's *Documents* (no. 301).
148. Summary of the Coronis to The True Christian Religion. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. Dr. Tafel. 1846. 5 pp., folio, MS. 1771.—English edition, London, 1807.
149. Coronis, or Appendix, to The True Christian Religion. MS. 1771. London, 1780.—English editions, London and Manchester, 1810.
150. The Consummation of the Age. 15 pp., folio, MS. 1771. *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII. App. 1. Dr. Tafel. 1846.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BOOK.

A. C.	Arcana Cælestia.
A. E.	The Apocalypse Explained.
A. R.	The Apocalypse Revealed.
Adv.	Adversaria.
C. L.	Conjugal Love.
D. L. & W.	The Divine Love and Wisdom.
D. P.	The Divine Providence.
H. D.	The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine.
H. & H.	Heaven and Hell.
Int. S. & B.	Intercourse of the Soul and Body.
L. J.	The Last Judgment.
S. D.	Spiritual Diary.
S. S.	The Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture.
T. C. R.	The True Christian Religion.

XV.

PRINCIPAL DATES IN SWEDENBORG'S LIFE.

1688. January 29. Born at Stockholm, and lived there till 1692.

1692. Spring: family removed to Vingåker; November, to Upsal.

1703. At Upsal. The family removed to Brunsbo. Sister Anna married: perhaps Emanuel remained with her at Upsal.

1709. Graduated at Upsal; went home to Brunsbo. Published thesis.

1710.-1713. At London pursuing studies.

1713. At Utrecht and Paris for a year.

1714. September, at Rostock.

1715. April, at Griefswalde, publishing *Camena Borea*.

1715. Returned home; worked on the *Dædalus* and *Algebra*.

1716. Appointed Assessor Extraordinary.

1717. Received in the College of Mines.

1716-1718. Worked with Polhem for Charles XII.

1719-1720. Pursues studies.

1721. Spring: to Holland and Leipsic publishing *Miscellaneous Observations*, and studying metals.

1722. Returns home, and tries to introduce improved methods of working copper.

1723. At the College of Mines, in regular attendance.

1724. July 15, appointed Ordinary Assessor; regularly employed till 1733.

1733. May, to Leipsic, to publish *Opera Philosophica*.

1734. July, at the College of Mines and the Diet, regularly till 1736.

1736. July, went to Paris to pursue anatomical studies.

1738. March 12, left Paris for Italy, on same studies.

1739. May, arrived again in Paris. December, finished the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, and went to Amsterdam to publish it.

1740. November, at the College of Mines till 1743.

1743. July, went to Amsterdam and the Hague, to print *The Animal Kingdom*. Had remarkable dreams in the autumn, and afterwards.

1744. May, arrived in London. First revelation, according to Gjörwell.

1745. April, first open vision. Wrote *The Worship and Love of God*. August, returned to Stockholm, and was at the College of Mines till July, 1747; also writing *Adversaria* and Biblical Index. Retired from the College.

1747. February, began the *Spiritual Diary*. August, arrived in Holland. Celestial change of state. Wrote the first volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia*.

1748. October, arrived in London to publish the "Arcana."

1749. Summer: in Amsterdam; to Aix-la-Chapelle for the winter.

1750. Spring: in Stockholm. Continued the "Arcana" till 1758. The "Diary" was continued till 1765.

1755-1762. Sundry Memorials to the Diet. Wrote *The Apocalypse Explained*.

1762. To Amsterdam. Published the *Four Leading Doctrines*.

1763. At Amsterdam. Published *The Divine Love and Wisdom* and *The Divine Providence*.

1764. At Stockholm.

1765. Summer: at Amsterdam, to publish *The Apocalypse Revealed*.

1766. Spring: to London; September, to Stockholm.

1768. Spring: to Amsterdam, to publish *Conjugal Love*.

1769. March, at Amsterdam; published "Brief Exposition." April, to Paris and London; October, to Stockholm.

1770. July, to Amsterdam, to publish *The True Christian Religion*.

1771. July, at Amsterdam; finished *The True Christian Religion*, and went to London.

1772. March 29, died in London.

XVI.

BIOGRAPHIES OF SWEDENBORG.

1769. Autobiography in a letter to the Rev. Thomas Hartley, See p. 323.

1772. Eulogy before the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, by Samuel Sandels. See p. 404.

1790. *Life of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg*, in New-Jerusalem Magazine. London.

1806. *Assessor Swedenborg's Life*, in Danish. Copenhagen. by S. H. Walden.

1820. *Emanuel Swedenborg*, in a Journal of Biography. Upsal. See R. L. Tafel's *Documents*, no. 288.

1827. *Biography of Swedenborg*, by the Rev. D. G. Goyder. pp. 40.

1831. *Life of Emanuel Swedenborg*, by Nathaniel Hobart. Boston. pp. 188.

1839-1845. *Collection of Documents respecting the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg*, by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel. Tübingen. — English editions published in Manchester, 1841, 1855. New York, by Professor Bush, 1847.

1840. *Swedenborg*, in the Penny-Cyclopædia, by Dr. J. J. G. Wilkinson.

1841. *Life of Swedenborg*, by the Rev. B. F. Barrett. New York. pp. 160.

1849. *Biographical Sketch of Emanuel Swedenborg*, by Elihu Rich. London. pp. 192.

1849. *Emanuel Swedenborg; a Biography*, by James John Garth Wilkinson. London. pp. 370.

1849. *Emanuel Swedenborg*, in Biographical Lexicon. Upsal. pp. 60.

1851. *Life of Emanuel Swedenborg*, by Nathaniel Hobart; third edition; prepared by Benjamin Worcester. Boston. pp. 280.

1852. *Memoir of Swedenborg*, by the Rev. O. Prescott Hiller, in his "Gems from the Writings of Swedenborg."

1854. *Swedenborg; a Biography and Exposition*, by Edwin Paxton Hood. London. pp. 402.

1854. *Life of Swedenborg*, by the Rev. W. M. Fernald, first published in his *Compendium*. pp. 128.

1856. *Life of Swedenborg for Youth*, by Mrs. S. P. Doughty. Boston.

1856. *Swedenborg; His Life and Writings*, by William White. London.

1860. *Emanuel Swedenborg*, for the Swedish Academy, in Memorial, by Bernhard von Beskors.

1863. *Emanuel de Swedenborg, sa Vie, ses Ecrits, etc.*, by M. Matter, Hon. Counsellor of the University. Paris. pp. 436.

1867. *Memoir of Swedenborg*, by the Rev. O. P. Hiller. Chicago. pp. 72.

1867. *Emanuel Swedenborg; his Life and Writings*, by William White. London. 2 vols. pp. 1278.

1868. The same in one volume.

1872. *Emanuel Swedenborg; an Outline of his Life and*

Writings, by a "Bible Student" (the Rev. John Hyde). London. pp. 120.

1875. *Emanuel Swedenborg*, in *Tales from Swedish History*, by A. Fryxell. Stockholm. pp. 120.

1875-1877. *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg*, by the Rev. R. L. Tafel; published by the Swedenborg Society. London. 3 vols., royal octavo. pp. 2107. [This is a work of great labor, conducted under extraordinary facilities; it is well-nigh exhaustive, and indispensable to the student of its subject.]

X 1876. *Emanuel Swedenborg*, a Biographical notice. Paris.

1877. *Emanuel Swedenborg, the Spiritual Columbus*, by U. S. E. [Speirs.] London. pp. 216.

1882. *The Man and his Mission*, by the Rev. B. F. Barrett. pp. 60.

1883. *Emanuel Swedenborg, The Man and his Works*, by Edmund Swift, Jr. London. pp. 218. [A clear and excellent summary of facts about Swedenborg and his writings.]

Writings, by a "Bible Student" (the Rev. John Hyde). London. pp. 120.

1875. *Emanuel Swedenborg*, in *Tales from Swedish History*, by A. Fryxell. Stockholm. pp. 120.

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1882. *The Man and his Mission*, by the Rev. B. F. Barrett. pp. 60.

1883. *Emanuel Swedenborg, The Man and his Works*, by Edmund Swift, Jr. London. pp. 218. [A clear and excellent summary of facts about Swedenborg and his writings.]

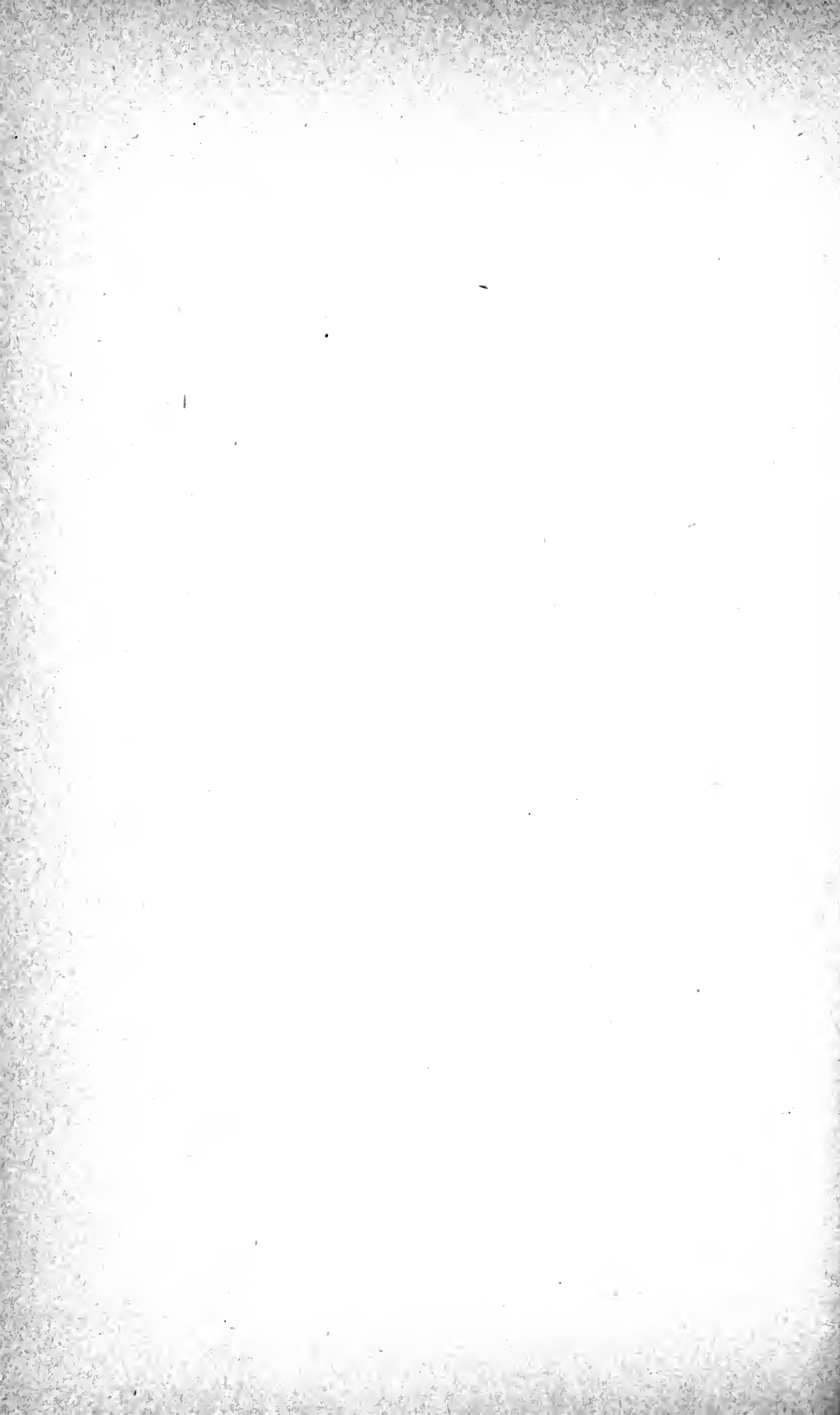
CORRECTIONS.

ON page 34 it is stated, on the authority of Dr. Wilkinson and other biographers, that Swedenborg in 1709 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Too late for correction in the first edition, our attention has been called to a note from Dr. Kahl, printed as a correction by Mr. White in the Appendix to the first volume of his "Life of Swedenborg." Dr. Kahl says, —

"Swedenborg never took this degree. He was only a student when he wrote his dissertation on Seneca, Publius Syrus, etc. Our Atterbom says somewhere that Swedenborg was Doctor in Philosophy, but it is a mistake."

THE value of the copper and silver daler on pages 21, 91, and 263 is drawn from Kelly's *Cambist* of 1821, in which the copper is given as worth about 3*d.* and the silver 9¼*d.* Swedenborg notes exchange in 1743 at 46 dalers to the pound sterling in London. On Kelly's valuation, exchange being against Sweden, it seemed that the 46 dalers were silver. But in Thomas's "British Negotiator," 1750, we find the copper daler valued at 6⅓*d.*, nearly. Swedenborg's 46 dalers must, then, have been copper, and worth in London about 5*d.* each, or 10 cents, while the silver daler was worth about 15*d.*, or 30 cents. His full salary at that rate amounted in London to about £75, or \$375.

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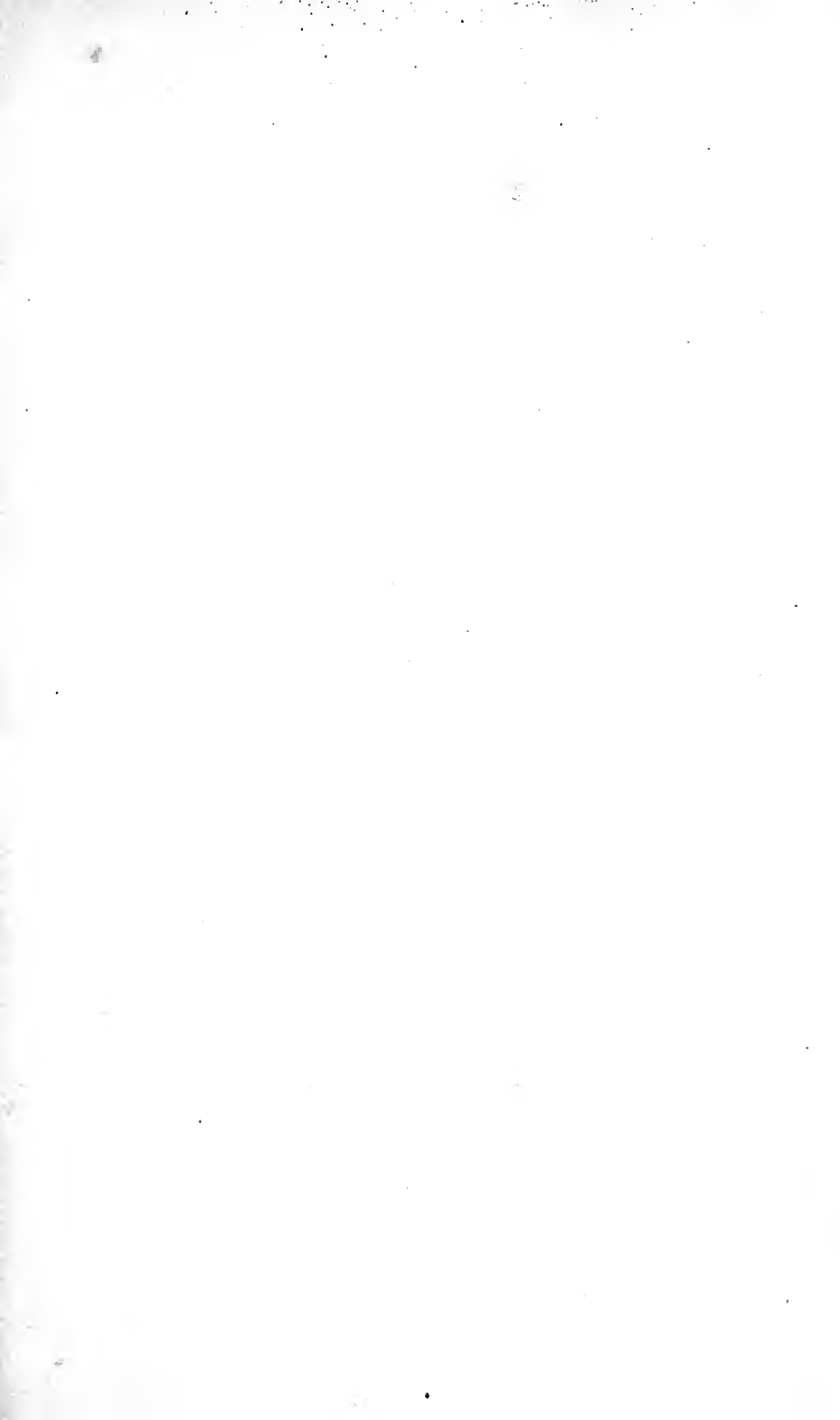
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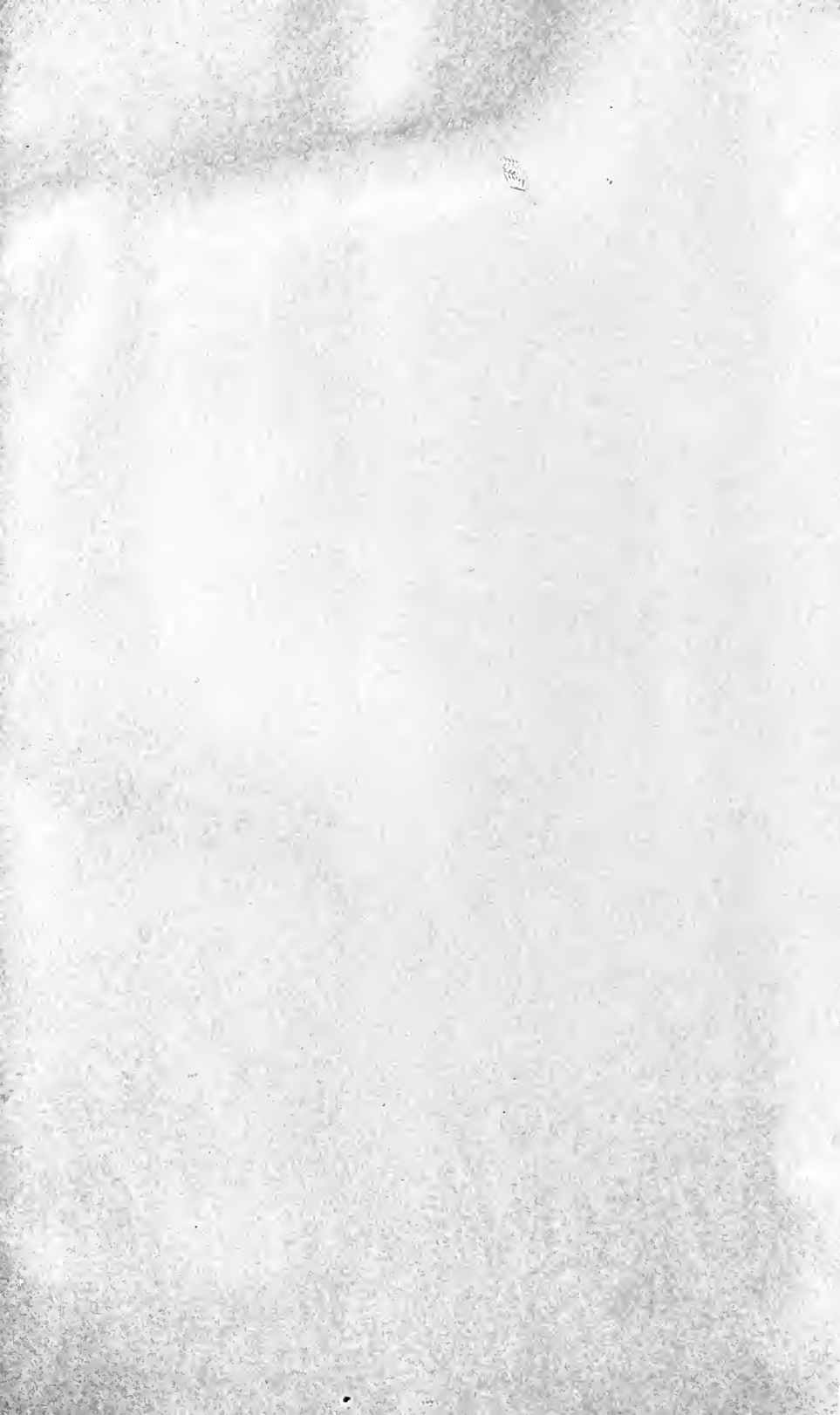
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